

THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL OF  
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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# I.

## SOME ATHENIAN PROBLEMS.

(See Plate I.)

"BRONZE money," writes Dr. Barclay Head,<sup>1</sup> "appears to have been first struck at Athens in B.C. 406, under the archonship of Callias (cf. Schol. in Arist. *Ran.* 725). . . . The coincidence of type, and to some extent of size, between silver and bronze may be accounted for on the hypothesis that bronze coins were originally issued as money of necessity, and were made legally, for the time being, equivalent to their counterparts in silver."

That bronze coins did really pass as money of necessity during the hard times of the Peloponnesian War may fairly be inferred, as Dr. Head points out, from a passage in the *Ecclesiiazusae* of Aristophanes (816 *et seqq.*), which refers to a decree demonetizing bronze and restoring silver as the only legal tender. Can the coins demonetized about B.C. 393 be identified? If so, we have a fixed point round which to group the Athenian issues of the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries.

The bronze coins, which Dr. Head has no hesitation in classing among the earliest in that metal, are grouped together on the upper part of plate vi. of the British Museum Catalogue, *Attica* (nos. 1 to 7), and include

Pl. I. 1, 12, 16, and 17, or specimens closely resembling them. They are, to quote his own words, "identical, even as regards the symbol in the field, with the pentobol in silver, identical with the tetrobol,<sup>2</sup> identical in type with the triobol, and identical with the diobol, while plate vi. 7 may represent the obol." It is impossible to accept all these coins as money of necessity, the issue of which must have been confined to a period having B.C. 406 and B.C. 393 as its outside limits. A glance at the plate will show that they are not all contemporary. The supposed obol may be left out of the discussion, as being obviously of much later date, and the diobol type is certainly separated from the pentobol and tetrobol by more than a dozen years.

The absolute identity of some of these coins with the corresponding types in silver is in itself a strong argument against their having been issued as money of necessity. The resemblance, in point of style, between the pieces in the two metals, is so striking that it is impossible to doubt that they were coined simultaneously. Moreover, the issue of the tetrobol type—one of the commonest of Athenian bronze coins to this day—must have lasted a considerable time. There is a marked difference in style between the earlier and later<sup>3</sup> specimens, and the changes are exactly the same which occur in the silver tetrobol, thus proving that they were issued together. On reference to Pl. I. it will

<sup>2</sup> This is not strictly accurate, as the bronze coins have the reverse type enclosed in a wreath of olive, which does not appear on the silver.

<sup>3</sup> By "later specimens" I mean those which have a symbol between the owls (B. M. C., pl. vi. 3 and 4), not a subsequent revival of the type which has a border of dots on the obverse, and on which the owl stands on a bolt; still less a yet later revival of extremely coarse specimens (C. M. C. iv. 3).

seen that nos. 13 and 14 closely resemble one another, in spite of the difference of metal, and are readily separated from the later group, nos. 15, 16, and 17.

There remains, then, the coin "identical in type"—not, be it noted, identical in detail—with the triobol, and to it must be added another variety, which is, I believe, unpublished. In these two coins I would recognize the bronze coinage demonetized by the decree of about B.C. 393, and it is therefore necessary to describe them at length.

Æ. 11 mm. Head of Athena left, of fine style, wearing pendent earring (and probably necklace) and close-fitting crested helmet, adorned at the back with a floral scroll, with the cheek-piece turned up; *Rev.*  $\odot^A_H$ , Owl facing, wings closed, standing on a grain of corn; on either side of it a pellet; the whole between two branches of olive fastened together at the top. (B. M. C., No. 220, pl. vi. 5, 1 gr. 44; Earle Fox, 1 gr. 16, 1 gr. 03 and 0 gr. 95. [Pl. I. 1]).

Æ. 8mm. As previous coin; *Rev.*  $\odot^A_H$ , Owl facing, with wings expanded, standing on grain of corn; above, on either side, a pellet. (Earle Fox, 0 gr. 66. [Pl. I. 2]).

The first point to which I wish to call attention is that, unlike the coins previously referred to, these are not exact copies of any existing silver piece. They bear types which no Athenian could fail to identify with the silver triobol and trihemibol, but the coincidence of type is not absolute. That of size does not exist. They are much smaller than the denominations which they may be supposed to represent, a peculiarity which can hardly be explained on grounds of economy, seeing how trifling is their intrinsic value. A reason for it may,

perhaps, be found in the well-known habit of carrying money in the mouth, a habit doubtless abandoned a few years later, when copper coins of fair size had become familiar.

When these two pieces are examined in detail, it will be seen that they present peculiarities which are not found on any other Athenian coins, and which seem intended to emphasize the extraordinary character of the issue. The head of Athena is turned to the left, which is not the case on any other coin until Imperial times, and is treated with a freedom and delicacy which are most unusual; indeed, it more closely resembles the head on the fine didrachms of Thurium, signed by the engraver  $\Phi$ , than those on the coins of Athens itself. The substitution of  $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}$  for the familiar  $\text{A}\Theta\text{E}$  is no less noteworthy, and is just what might be expected on money intended for purely local circulation; its importance is increased rather than diminished by the fact that the older form was at once reverted to when the issue of an honest currency was resumed. The pellet on each side of the owl and the grain of corn under its feet are also peculiar to this issue, and must have had some special significance.

From first to last there is an obvious intention to distinguish these two coins from any others, whether of silver or of bronze, and everything seems to point to the conclusion that if money of necessity really was issued, it must be recognized in these most exceptional little pieces.

But the acceptance of this theory entails very considerable consequences—nothing less, in fact, than a complete revision of the accepted ideas concerning the chronology of the later issues of the “old style.” If



these were, indeed, the unpopular bronze currency issued in B.C. 406, and called in about B.C. 393, it follows that the coin bearing the type of the diobol (Pl. I. 12) must be placed after the latter date. It is impossible to separate it from the gold staters, tetradrachms, the drachms, and, above all, the diobols, which it so closely resembles, and the whole coinage with the eye of Athena drawn in profile (B. M. C., Class IV.<sup>4</sup>) must therefore be assigned to the earlier part of the fourth instead of the latter part of the fifth century.

This suggestion certainly sounds revolutionary, but many arguments, some of them very strong ones, may be invoked in its favour.

Firstly, there is the testimony of the money of necessity itself. The smaller of the two bronze coins unquestionably represents the trihemiobol, a denomination which does not exist in Class IV., and which, had the issue of that class begun about B.C. 430, would have been quite obsolete and unfamiliar by B.C. 406, the date of the issue of the bronze.

Next comes a noteworthy fact, to which, I think, attention has never been drawn, and which, I confess, I completely overlooked until it was brought home to me by the necessity of placing Class IV. in the fourth century. The coins given in the British Museum Catalogue to Class III.,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ , and assigned to the period B.C. 527-430, show a most gradual development in style. It is easy, in a large collection, to pick out a series of tetradrachms or drachms which exhibits the slow progress of the change, and, though a coin of

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<sup>4</sup> In this and subsequent quotations Class IV. must be understood to include only the earlier coins with the eye of Athena in profile, the pentobols and tetrobols and the drachms with symbols being excluded.

Class III.  $\gamma$  is very unlike one of Class III.  $\alpha$ , the chain of evolution may be followed link by link.

Then there is a dead stop! No coins transitional between Class III.  $\gamma$  and Class IV. are forthcoming, and the differences in style are so marked, both in the head of Athena and in the owl, that they can only be accounted for by the theory of a resumption of coinage after a suspension of some years, just such a gap, in fact, as is supplied by the interval between B.C. 406 and B.C. 393. The appearance of the crescent on the drachms for the first time also points to a break in the traditions of the mint.

A further argument in favour of the later date for Class IV. is afforded by the fact that it, and it alone, is copied on the Oriental imitations of the famous "owls," most of which date, at the earliest, from the latter part of the fourth century. Such imitations are likely to have begun while the originals were still current in large numbers. Had Class IV. been issued before the Peloponnesian War it would not have been much more plentiful a hundred years afterwards than the later coins of Class III., and these would also have been copied.

Everything tends to confirm the view that Class IV. is separated from Class III. by a considerable interval. With its advent one denomination, the trihemiobol, disappears from the series, possibly because its bronze counterpart had brought it into ill repute. On the other hand, several new denominations make their appearance. First and foremost there is the gold stater, which Dr. Head attributes to B.C. 407 or B.C. 393, seemingly with a bias in favour of the later date.<sup>5</sup> The diobol replaces

<sup>5</sup> B. M. C., *Attica*, introd., pp. xxviii., xxi.

the perhaps disgraced trihemibol, and, not least in significance, there is a whole series of silver coins representing minute values,  $\frac{7}{8}$ ,  $\frac{5}{8}$ ,  $\frac{3}{8}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the obol, in addition to the previously familiar obol,<sup>6</sup> with its half and quarter. It is not unreasonable to suppose that these little coins owed their existence to the dislike for bronze which is so forcibly expressed by Aristophanes. Such tiny pieces of metal—the smallest weighs only 0·09 gr.—must, however, have been found extremely inconvenient, and it is not surprising that the bronze coin bearing the types of the diobol should soon have made its appearance, not as money of necessity, but as an honest copper coin, passing, its type would suggest, for two chalki.

To determine the duration of the issue of Class IV. is not easy. It may have lasted until the Macedonian conquest in B.C. 322. The coins themselves show little, if any, development in style, but their archaism is obviously affected. Moreover, their abundance, even at the present day, and the frequency with which they were imitated, prove that they must have been struck in enormous quantities, and have circulated for a considerable period.

There is certainly a gap between them and the pentobols and tetrobols, but not a big one, for some of the latter are of very good style and have the familiar olive leaves on the helmet of Athena, though on all of them she wears the pendent, instead of the old round earring. Perhaps Athens was soon allowed to strike small denominations for local use, though the coining of tetradrachms

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<sup>6</sup> Both obol and hemibol, with the eye of Athena in profile and with the reverse owl to right, are known, though neither is figured in the B. M. C. The hemibols are less common than those of Class III., and the obol is distinctly scarce.

was doubtless forbidden. Later tetrobols omit the olive leaves on the helmet, and some of the latest have the plemochœ between the owls. Probably there are also tetrobols with the kalathos, but I have not met with them. As has been pointed out above, the bronze imitations of the type (pieces of 4 chalki?) follow exactly on the lines of the silver.

The pentobol is of extreme rarity, but, like the tetrobol, seems to have been issued for some years. The earliest-looking specimens have an amphora as symbol; on others this is replaced by an acrostolion or a bunch of grapes. The bronze imitation in the British Museum is, as far as I know, unique. I am almost tempted to regard it as the core of a plated piece, but the fact that it is of the full weight of the silver coin is somewhat against this theory.

Last of the silver coins of the "old style" come the drachms with symbols in the field, of which there are numerous varieties, all rather rare. Their Attic origin has been doubted, but a strong point in its favour is the fact that on all the certain Oriental imitations of Athenian coins Athena wears the round earring of the earlier period. These drachms may be contemporary with some of the latest tetrobols, but on the whole I am inclined to regard them as later; a few of them are so late in style as almost to form a connecting link with the series bearing names of magistrates in monogram. With the earlier of them must be classed, in spite of the fact that Athena wears the old round earring, the gold stater, in the Hunterian Museum,<sup>7</sup> which Mr. Macdonald assigns to B.C. 338 or B.C. 295. If the conclusions of this paper be accepted, it must be given to the later date.

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<sup>7</sup> Cat., vol. ii. p. 54, no. 29, pl. xxxiii. 23.

This rearrangement of the coins of the fourth century entails a rejection of the theory that the coinage of Athens came to an end about B.C. 322,<sup>8</sup> and began again with the silver of the "new style" in B.C. 220. There seem to have been more or less frequent, though scanty, issues of small silver until well on into the third century, while, as regards bronze, there are at least a dozen varieties, most of them with the head of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, and with an owl or owls on the reverse, which, while later than the imitations of the pentobol and tetrobol, certainly precede the issue of the tetradrachms with the head of Athena Parthenos.

In conclusion it may be added that imitation of the types of the silver is not confined to the fourth century. It is frequent in the "new style" (see B. M. C., pl. xiv., nos. 1 and 2), and copies of the drachm and trihemibol of the fifth century may be found even in Imperial times.

H. B. EARLE FOX.

#### EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

No. 1, money of necessity (triobol type); no. 2, money of necessity (trihemiobol type); nos 3 to 7, drachms of Class III. ( $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ); no. 8, stater of Class IV.; nos. 9 and 10, drachms of Class IV.; no. 11, diobol; no. 12,  $\mathcal{A}$  of diobol type; no. 13, tetrobol (earlier style); no. 14,  $\mathcal{A}$  of tetrobol type (earlier style); no. 15, tetrobol (later); nos. 16 and 17,  $\mathcal{A}$  of tetrobol type (later), nos. 18 and 19, drachms of latest style, with symbols in the field.

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<sup>8</sup> B. M. C., *Attica*, introd., p. lvi.

## II.

### A RECENT FIND OF ROMAN COINS IN SCOTLAND.

A SMALL but remarkable find of Roman coins was made recently on the estate of Mr. Whitelaw, of Gartshore, in the parish of Kirkintilloch. Thanks to the owner's kindness, I am able to offer the following account of it to readers of the *Chronicle*.

Travellers by the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway can hardly fail to notice the conspicuous summit of the Bal Hill, which at one point of the journey rises high between themselves and the Forth and Clyde Canal. Since the days of "Sandy Gordon" it had been known that its northern slope was the site of one of the stations on the Antonine Vallum. Successive observers had surveyed and mapped out the superficial traces of the Roman occupation, and miscellaneous relics had from time to time been uncovered by the plough ; but no systematic excavation had taken place until November, 1902, when a thoroughgoing exploration was commenced under the energetic direction of Mr. Alexander Park, factor on the estate. The explorers were fortunate in striking almost immediately upon a built well, forty-two feet in depth, which had evidently been the main source of the water-supply of the garrison. The well was filled almost to its mouth with an extraordinary collection of *débris* of the Roman period. On the top was a fourteen-feet layer of

miscellaneous rubbish, mainly hewn stones. Beneath this, and extending the whole way down, came a great mass of architectural fragments, including one or two inscribed stones, together with much pottery, woodwork, and leatherwork, and a probably unique assortment of tools and implements of various kinds.

The point of interest for numismatists is that in the sludge at the bottom of the well there were found thirteen denarii. The following is an exact record of the varieties :—

M. ANTONY.

(CIRCA 35 B.C.)

1. ANT · AVG (above), III · VIR · R · P · C (beneath).  
Praetorian galley with rowers.

R. Inscription illegible. Roman eagle, flanked by two standards.

Wt. 2·54 grammes.

Number of  
specimens.

1

VESPASIAN.

(69-79 A.D.)

2. [IMPC]AESVESP AVG[PM] Head of Vespasian  
r., laureate.

R. AVGVR (above), TRI · POT (beneath). Instruments of sacrifice.

Wt. 3·24 grammes (Cohen, i. p. 371,  
no. 43).

1

DOMITIAN.

(81-96 A.D.)

3. IMPCAESDOMITAVG GERMPMTRPXV Head of  
Domitian r., laureate.

R. IMPXXII COSXVIICENSPPP Minerva standing  
r. on prow in attitude of attack.

Wt. 2·58 grammes (Cohen, i. p. 496,  
no. 293).

1

TRAJAN.

(98-117 A.D.)

Number of  
specimens.

4. IMPTRAIANOAVGGERDACPMTRPCOSVIPP .

Head of Trajan r., laureate.

R. PAX (beneath), SPQROPTIMOPRINCIPI  
Peace standing l., holding cornucopiae on l.  
arm, and with r. setting fire to a heap of  
booty.

Wts. 3.04; 2.72; 2.60; 2.52; 2.39 grammes  
(Cohen, ii. p. 39, no. 198).

5

5. IMPTRAIANOAVGGERDACPMTRP Head of Tra-  
jan r., laureate.

R. COSVPPSPQROPTIMOPRINC Hope l.

Wts. 3.24; 3.16; 2.86 grammes (Cohen,  
ii. p. 27, no. 84).

3

HADRIAN.

(117-138 A.D.)

6. HADRIANVS AVGCOSIIIPP Head of Hadrian  
r., laureate.

R. SALV SAVG Health r., feeding serpent  
twined round altar.

Wt. 3.81 grammes (Cohen, ii. p. 216,  
no. 1334).

1

M. AURELIUS.

(161-180 A.D.)

7. AVRELIVSCAESAR AVGPPIFCOS Youthful head  
of M. Aurelius r., bare.

R. PIETASAVG Instruments of sacrifice.

Wt. 2.71 grammes (Cohen, iii. p. 46,  
no. 450).

1

It will be seen that the composition of this find is  
precisely what we should expect under the circumstances.



he list published by Mr. Haverfield<sup>1</sup> shows that (with the exception of the legionary denarii of Antony, for the survival of which there were special reasons) the Roman silver found in Scotland is, as a rule, not earlier than Nero and not later than Commodus. It is in the individual specimens that the peculiarity lies. The piece representing variety no. 6 is not silver. The metal seems to be some alloy of copper, and it has suffered from the action of fire to an extent that made it exceedingly difficult to decipher the types and legends. At the first glance the remaining twelve appeared to be all alike and all of silver, although they had assumed a dark glossy hue from the mud amidst which they had lain so long. Closer scrutiny revealed two notable features. In the first place the weight was, in most cases, considerably below the average for the denarius of the period. In the second place, the five specimens of variety no. 4 and the three specimens of variety no. 5 seemed to be, in each instance, *from the same dies*. This latter coincidence was so singular that Mr. Grueber at once suggested that the coins must have been cast. Certainty on the point was not possible until they had been carefully cleaned. It then became evident that only two out of the twelve—the Antony and the Vespasian—were struck coins of (more or less) genuine silver. The other ten had been run in moulds. Moreover, they were not made of silver, but of some much lighter and softer metal. Dr. Carrick Anderson, of Glasgow University, was good enough to examine them with a view to determining their composition. As the result of analysis, he reports that the metal

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<sup>1</sup> Glasgow Archæological Society's *Report on the Antonine Wall*, pp. 159 ff.

employed has been pure tin; there is no trace of an alloy.

Tin coins were not unknown among the ancient Aristotle and Pollux vouch for the attempt of Dionysius to foist a tin currency upon the Syracusans.<sup>2</sup> When we come to a later age we find the following reference in the *Digest* (xlviii. 10): *Eadem lege exprimitur ne quis numm. stanneos, plumbeos emere, vendere dolo malo velit.* In quoting this extract, Eckhel points out that the allusion must be to spurious coins. He adds that, so far as his knowledge goes, no actual specimens have survived owing probably to the liability of tin to corrosion (*D. N. V.*, i. p. xix.). The Bar Hill pieces are not, however, the first that have come to light. Lenormant (*La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. pp. 213 f.) records the finding at Lyons of a vase containing 700 tin denarii of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna. From their style, and from the fact that they were all *fleur de coin*, he draws the following conclusion: "Il est donc évident qu'elles ont été frappées pour être mises dans la circulation avec la couleur et l'aspect propres à leur métal, non pour être données par fraude comme de l'argent. La régularité de leur frappe et le soin apporté à leur fabrication excluent d'ailleurs l'idée d'un travail clandestin de faux-monnayeurs; ce sont des monnaies sorties des ateliers bien organisés du gouvernement." He then proceeds to formulate a very ingenious hypothesis. Noticing that all the coins in the hoard were subsequent to the great expedition of Severus to Britain, he suggests that the emperor, after his visit to the tin country, may have hit upon the idea of issuing a fiduciary currency of

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. J. Evans in *Num. Chron.*, 1894, pp. 219 ff.

in order to supplement the meagre stores of senatorial coinage that reached the provinces. He explains the appearance of all other traces of this experiment by supposing that it was almost immediately abandoned owing to the resulting confusion with silver.

What light does the new find throw on the question? Obviously it enables us to set aside once and for all the hypothesis that has just been outlined. The Bar Hill denarii are long prior to Severus. But this is not all. ~~Un-~~ They can be made to yield positive evidence.

Once, I entirely agree with the view that the coins are not the work of ordinary forgers, and that they were never intended to pass current as silver. The weight and the softness of the metal—the fact that they can be bent readily with the fingers—would have led to instant detection. Furthermore, the fact that in one case five, and in another case three, of the ten coins were cast in the same moulds, shows clearly that they cannot have found their way from a distance to Britain in the ordinary process of trade. On the other hand, it is in the last degree unlikely that anyone would have selected as a convenient centre of activity a small military outpost on the very fringe of Roman civilization. The clue, I think, lies in the character

of the “find-spot.” The throwing of money into wells for superstitious motives is a very familiar phenomenon. It would suggest, therefore, that our tin denarii were not expressly manufactured for devotional purposes. Whether the Lyons hoard is to be similarly interpreted is perhaps more doubtful. But why not? Lenormant speaks as if the coins composing it had been struck, not minted. As they were found in close proximity to an important mint, this would be perfectly intelligible—on

the assumption, of course, that the making of such off-ings was a recognized practice. It should be noted that the prohibition of the Digest is not directed against manufacture of *nummi stannei*, but against their being fraudulently passed into circulation—"emere, vendere dolo malo."

Two additional points may be noted as to some extent confirmatory of the suggestion here put forward. In the first place, during the subsequent excavations on the site of the Bar Hill fort, a certain number of coins have come to light here and there among the ruins. The majority of these are of bronze. But there are also a few denarii. All of them are normal. They form a class by themselves. In the first place, there were found in the bed of the ditch about twenty years ago a number of Roman denarii of the Republic and of Augustus, which were struck in the East and which are said to have been perfectly exact copies. They were exhibited to the German Numismatic Society on April 5, 1886, by Prof. Dressel;<sup>3</sup> who regarded them as ancient forgeries. But, having in view the "find" at the Bar Hill tin pieces. Rivers, no less than wells, are the receptacles of coins as votive offerings. Lenoir cites several instances.<sup>4</sup>

So far as the Roman Empire is concerned, these arguments of evidence would seem to stand alone; there is no record, for instance, of any tin coins having occurred in the huge accumulation of money discovered in Coventina's well at Procolitia.<sup>5</sup> But parallels can

<sup>3</sup> *Z. f. N.*, xiv., Beil., p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. de la Monnaie*, vol. i. p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, viii. 40-43, cf. *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., xix. pp. 85 ff.

easily be found in other times and countries. Archaeologists know that the objects unearthed from Greek tombs are often mere "dummies," cunning imitations of the articles they are supposed to represent. And even under the sharp eyes of the priests false coins occasionally found their way into the treasuries of Greek temples.<sup>6</sup> But for a really close analogy we must go to China, where "coins" of paper are regularly manufactured to be used as offerings, by devout worshippers. Sir Robert Douglas informs me that these generally follow the model of the "silver slipper," but that they sometimes take the shape and size of the more common "cash."

GEORGE MACDONALD.

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<sup>6</sup> *Eg* Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 586, 61, and 588, 15.

### III.

## RARE OR UNPUBLISHED COINS OF CARAUSIUS.

(See Plates II, III)

IN the following pages I propose to give an account of a portion of my collection of the coins of Carausius, the specimens constituting which appear in nearly every instance to present some new and unpublished variety either in type or legend.

The exact meaning of the word "unpublished," as applied to the coins of Carausius, is difficult to define. On the present occasion I have assumed that coins not recorded in Cohen, the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, or the *Numismatic Chronicle* are "unpublished." I have not entirely ignored Stukeley's *Medallie History of Carausius*, nor the works of my old friend Akerman; but the former is absolutely untrustworthy, and the latter are not in every one's hands. When it has appeared desirable I have referred to both.

The coins are reproduced in the two accompanying plates by the autotype process. In several instances they are in sufficiently good condition for them to appear fully and faithfully in the plate. In some other instances where the condition is not quite what a collector would like, the photographic camera has truthfully recor

what in a certain light it was able to perceive. In such cases the draughtsman or engraver would have recorded what he was able to see on examining the coin in different lights, and my reading of the legends might perhaps have been more fully substantiated. I venture, however, to hope that the plates may, on the whole, be more satisfactory than if some human agency had been brought to bear on the interpretation of the coins.

I will only add to these introductory remarks the statement that a considerable proportion of the coins engraved in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua* are now in my cabinet, and that if the Society desires that they should be photographically reproduced in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, I shall be happy to arrange for their republication in that form.

1. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · AVG Draped and laureate bust to right.

*Rev.*—CONCORDIA AVG In exergue RSR Two hands joined.

Æ. [Pl. II. 1.]

This coin, which came from the collection of the late Charles Warne, F.S.A., is not mentioned in Cohen, nor in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, the usual legend accompanying the clasped hands being CONCORDIA MILITVM, sometimes abridged. I possess another specimen with AVG, which bears P.F instead of P on the obverse. The reverses of the two coins may, however, have been struck from the same die.

The type of the two hands joined as emblematic of Concord dates back to the time of the Republic.

2. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Laureate bust to left in cuirass and consular robes. In his right hand the emperor holds a vertical sceptre surmounted by an eagle.

*Rev.*—FELICITA AVG In exergue RSR A galley on waves, with five rowers and a steersman.

Æ. [Pl. II. 2.]

This coin, unpublished by Cohen or the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, was found in the Thames at London, and acquired by me in 1903. Its chief peculiarity is the sceptred and well-executed bust on the obverse. The galley with a legend referring to Felicity had been a well-known type from the days of Hadrian downwards, and was destined to become one of the most popular devices under Allectus, the successor of Carausius. A similar coin has been engraved by Stukeley (pl. iii. 1).

3. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Draped and laureate bust to right.

*Rev.*—FEDES MILITVM In exergue RSR Draped female figure looking left, and holding in each hand a military standard.

Æ. [Pl. II. 3.]

This coin belonged to the late Charles Warne, F.S.A. It does not appear to be known in silver, though a nearly similar coin in brass is described by Cohen under no. 75, and in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (pl. vii., no. 12). These, however, read FIDES. The form FEDES is remarkable, and seems to point to a pronunciation preserved in the Italian *Fede*. The next coin gives another type in connection with another form of legend.



4. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · A Draped and laureate bust to right.

*Rev.*—FIDE MI AV Fidelity, holding a standard in her left hand, gives her right to the emperor, who is standing in military costume.

Æ. [Pl. II. 4.]

This is the coin of which I made mention in a former paper (*Nun. Chron. 4th Ser.*, iv. p. 142), when I pointed out that the draped female figure of FIDES was much like the personification of Britain on the coins of Carausius reading EXPECTATE VENI The general arrangement of the two types is remarkably similar. The extreme abbreviation of FIDES MILITVM AVGVSTI is worthy of notice. The coin was formerly in the Huxtable and Warne collections.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 3.

*Rev.*—HIVTI AV Galley with four rowers, waves below.

Æ. [Pl. II. 5.]

The reverse of this coin bears a barbarous legend which it is difficult to interpret. It may, however, be a corruption of FELICITA · AV, though VIRTVTI AV has also been suggested.

As a rule, the exergual letters RSR occur on silver coins only, but I have copper coins of Carausius with them, and with the following reverses:—

ADVENTVS AVG Emperor on horseback, left. *Coll. Ant.*, v. pl. xvii. 5.

EXPECTATE VEN Britain welcoming emperor.

FORTVNA AVG Bust within inner circle. *Coll. Ant.*, v. pl. xvii. 11.

VBERTAS AVG Cow and milkmaid. *Coll. Ant.*, vi., pl. xxi. 9.

VOTVM PVBLIC MVLTI XX IMP. on altar. *Coll. Ant.*, iv. pl. xxx. 9.

In addition to these, I possess the two following:—

6. *Obv.*—As no. 3.

*Rev.*—FÉLICITAS In exergue RSR. Galley with five rowers.

Æ. [Pl. II. 6].

7. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS AVG Radiate and cuirassed bust to right.

*Rev.*—EFLICITAS (*sic*) In exergue RSR As no. 6, an anchor at prow.

Æ. [Pl. II. 7.]

The type of the reverse of these coins is almost identical with that so commonly to be seen on the copper or brass coins of Allectus with the legend LAETITIA AVG. Not improbably they belong to the latter part of the reign of Carausius. It will be observed that no. 7, though bearing the letters RSR, is of the Rouen rather than of the British fabric. The reverse die appears to have been copied from a coin struck in Britain.

8. *Obv.*—IMP · C · M · AV · M · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate and cuirassed bust to right.

*Rev.*—(PROVID) AVGGG S · P in field; C in exergue. Providence standing left, in her right a wand upon a globe, and in her left a cornucopiae.

Æ. [Pl. II. 8.]

Although of interest as having the three G's indicative of Carausius, Diocletian, and Maximian, this coin is most remarkable on account of the legend on the obverse. The full name of Carausius is usually given as Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerianus Carausius, and this reading rests, I believe, solely on a unique coin of the ordinary PAX type published by Tanini<sup>1</sup> in his supplement

<sup>1</sup> P. 229,

to Banduri, 1791. The coin which is stated to give IMP · C · M AVR · V · CARAVSIVS P · AVG is cited as being in the collection of *Doct. Sloane*; it ought, therefore, now to be in the British Museum. No such coin, however, exists in the National Collection, and there seems every probability of the legend having been misread. There can, moreover, be but little doubt that Tanini derived his description of the coin from Stukeley's *Medallic History of Carausius*, p. 115, published in 1757–1759. The coin bearing the obverse legend in question is engraved as no. 1 of plate vi., and is thus described—

“A.D. 290, jan. 30.

“VI · I, a coin of Sir *Hans Sloan's*, and of my friend Mr. *Joseph Ames*, secretary to the *Antiquarian*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*; an ingenious person and diligent in preserving everything, either in art, or nature, that pertains to learning, curiosity, antiquity. This has the emperor's *prænomen* and names of adoption in obverse, and again proves the 11d Article of the Treaty of peace,

IMP · C · M · AVR · V · CARAVSIVS P · AVG

“reverse,

PAX AVG.

“a sacred coin, struck at *Cateric*, this day.”

In the absence of the coins described by Stukeley, and in the presence of mine, which distinctly reads M and not v, I think that it will be safe to discard the name of adoption, “Valerius,” from the other names of Carausius. Those of Marcus Aurelius may be retained, but what the M following the M · AV may have been intended to designate I am not prepared to say. It may, of course, have been placed on the die instead of R by an engraver's error, in which case the legend would have begun IMP · C · M · AVR. But the careful manner in which the legend has been rendered rather precludes such a

supposition, and if so the M must be accepted. Possibly it may have been intended merely to represent the title MAGNVS or MAXIMVS

A bronze coin in the collection of M. L. Naville with the reverse VIRTVS AVGG . (P) and S . P . in the field reads distinctly on the obverse IMP . C . M . AVR M . CARAVSIVS P . AVG.

The names Marcus Aurelius were favourites with the Roman emperors contemporary with Carausius, and were used by Probus, Carus, Numerianus, Carinus, and Maximianus, as well as by the usurper Julianus.

Since the above was written, Mr. Grueber has kindly called my attention to an article by M. Robert Mowat in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1896.<sup>2</sup> In it the author describes and figures a coin in his own collection which is almost, if not quite, identical with mine. The only differences are that the figure on the reverse holds a globe instead of a wand in her right hand, and that the S in the field is nearer to her feet. M. Mowat agrees with me that the name of Valerius as given to Carausius rests on the sole authority of Stukeley, who probably misread the legend on a coin. He, moreover, cites an interesting article on a Roman milestone found near Carlisle, and described by Mr. Haverfield.<sup>3</sup> The inscription on the stone relating to our emperor reads as follows:—

IMP C M  
AVRMAVS  
CARAVSIO PF  
INVICTO AVG

Mr. Haverfield suggests that MAVS may be a blundering

<sup>2</sup> *Third Ser.*, vol. xiv., p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Camb. and Westm. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii. (1895), p. 437.

anticipation of ARAVS in the next line, but M. Mowat does not accept this view, and completes the name as MAVSAIVS. The small size of the V as compared with that of the other letters is remarkable, and I acknowledge that I should like to see the actual milestone before speculating further. Akerman<sup>4</sup> cites a coin in the cabinet of Mr. F. Douce which gives the title of Carausius as IMP · C · M · AVR · CARAVSIVS P · AVG.

9. *Obv.*—IMP · (C · CAR) AVSIVS P · AV Radiate and draped bust to right. Double-struck in a peculiar manner.

*Rev.*—ABVNDENTIA AVG In field S · C Abundance standing left.

Æ. [Pl. II. 9.]

This reverse type is of considerable rarity, but an almost similar coin was in the Blackmoor hoard, and is engraved in *Num. Chron., New Ser.*, vol. xvii. (1877), pl. iv. 7. The spelling of Abundentia is peculiar.

10. *Obv.*—IMP · C · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—ADVENTVS AVG In exergue C. Emperor galloping to left, holding a spear vertically, beneath the horse a prostrate foeman.

Æ. [Pl. II. 10.]

On the coins of this type the horse is usually walking to the left, and a captive is crouching in front. On a silver coin (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pl. v. 8) in the British Museum the emperor is galloping to the right and throwing a spear, while a prostrate enemy is below the horse.

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<sup>4</sup> *Desc. Cat. of Rom. Coins*, II. p. 174.

11. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—CON[CORD · EXE]RCI(?) In exergue ML. Four military standards.

Æ. [Pl. II. 11.]

This coin seems to be unpublished both as to reverse type and legend, which latter, however, is but imperfectly shown. The same type occurs on coins of Allectus, with the legend FIDES EXERCIT,<sup>5</sup> and of Carausius, with that of FIDES MILIT<sup>6</sup> On these the details of the four standards are shown with greater precision. Another coin of Carausius gives four military standards, with the legend COHORT · PRAET,<sup>7</sup> with ML in the exergue.

Yet another allied coin is the following :—

12. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—FIDES MILITVM In exergue C. Two hands joined.

Æ. [Pl. II. 12.]

This type of the “Fides Militum” is new, though on silver coins of Carausius it is frequently associated with Concordia Militum. The “*commissa dextera dextrae*”<sup>8</sup> was a well-known emblem of fidelity, said to have been derived from the Persians. Cicero<sup>9</sup> speaks of the “*dextrae quae fidei testes esse solebant.*” The type recurs on some of our own eighteenth-century Tradesmens’ Tokens.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron., New Ser.*, xiv. (1874), p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Coll. Ant.*, v. p. 184.

<sup>8</sup> *Ovid*, H. 2, 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Phil.*, ii. 2, 5.

13. *Obv.*—As no. 11.

*Rev.*—FIDES MILIT[VM] In exergue CXXI. Female figure seated left, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Æ. [Pl. II. 13.]

This coin also presents an unpublished type, Fides being usually represented as standing and holding two military standards, and not, as on this coin, sitting. The attributes seem to be more those of a female Genius or Juno than of Fides.

14. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—IOVI VICTORI Jupiter, nude, facing, but looking to right, his right arm elevated and holding a thunderbolt; in his left hand a slanting sceptre.

Æ. [Pl. II. 14.]

A somewhat similar coin, now in my own collection, is figured in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pl. viii. 2, but there is a mantle under Jupiter's left arm.

I now come to some of the legionary coins of Carausius, and it will be well to say a few words by way of introduction, as some interesting questions arise as to the derivation of their types and the bearing of the coins on the history of the period. I do not, however, propose to enter upon a dissertation on legionary coins in general, as the subject has already been discussed by Spanheim, Eckhel, and others.

Some account of the Roman Legions in Britain is given by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*.

The legionary coins of Mark Antony were struck both in gold and silver, but belong to too early a period to

have influenced the coinage of Carausius. The same may be said of those of Clodius Macer, which, moreover, were struck in Africa, and are of extreme rarity. There remain the coins of Septimius Severus, Gallienus, and Victorinus. Those of the first are, with a single exception, struck in gold or silver. Nearly all those of the last are in gold and very few in number, so that to the coins of neither of these two emperors can we with any degree of confidence look for the prototypes of the legionary coins of Carausius. They may, however, be of service as showing the attributes of various Legions at a date anterior to the days of that emperor.

The whole of the coins of this class struck under Gallienus are, on the other hand, of billon, and from them the moneyers of Carausius may fairly be presumed to have copied, at all events to some extent. The main question, however, is whether the legions whose names appear on the coins were in existence in Britain and under the command of Carausius, or whether the coins purporting to give their names and devices were not servile copies of coins issued some twenty or thirty years earlier under Gallienus. That some of the types of Carausius—as, for instance, those with *PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS* and *SAECLARES AVG*—were such servile imitations, may be accepted without hesitation.

It has occurred to me that in the case of the legionary coins of Carausius there is a possible criterion by which we may distinguish those that are probably mere imitations of earlier coins and those that are probably connected with legions serving under Carausius. It is this: to compare the title of the legion and its device on the coins of the two emperors, and if on both the title and device are identical, to regard the coin of Carausius as



possibly a mere imitation of one of Gallienus. If, on the other hand, there is a difference either in the title or the device, to regard the coin as probably an original production of the mint of Carausius.

Take, for instance, a coin of this emperor bearing the title LEG · I · MIN (Legio prima Minervina). Coins of this legion are known of Gallienus and Victorinus, though the title is somewhat extended. The device, however, is in all cases the figure of Minerva. On the coins of Carausius, of which I have two specimens, the device is a ram either to the right or the left, and the inference may be that a portion of the first legion gave in its adherence to the cause of Carausius and adopted a new device.

Taking the second legion, we find it under Gallienus with various titles, but not with that of Augusta. A coin of Carausius, however, gives that title and the device of a Capricorn which is not to be found on the coins with the name of that legion struck under Victorinus or Gallienus. The long association of Legio II Aug. with Britain is proved by numerous lapidary inscriptions. On the other hand, the Legio II Parthica with the device of a centaur is not infrequent on coins of Gallienus, and the coins of Carausius with the same legend and device may be mere imitations.

The Legio IIII Flavia with the lion device appears on coins of both emperors, but that with the two lions of Carausius (Cohen, 142) seems to have been copied from a gold coin of Victorinus (Cohen, No. 60), so that a portion of that legion may have transferred its allegiance from Gaul to Britain. It is not known by inscriptions.

The coin hereinafter described with the legend LEG · IIII · FLAVIA seems to be peculiar to Britain. The

collocation of the type and legend can hardly be the result of a moneyer's error.

The coins of Carausius with LEG · VII · CL, and with the type of a bull may be only imitations of those of Gallienus. The same may be said of the British coin with LEG · VIII · AVG and a similar device. That with LEG · VIII · GE suggests originality.

Those with LEG · IIXX · PRIMIG and a capricorn may be merely transcripts of coins of Gallienus. A *vexillatio* of this legion was, moreover, in Britain in the days of Hadrian.

The coins with LEG · XXX · VLPIA of Carausius have the same type, Neptune, as those of Gallienus with the same legend, and those of the first-mentioned emperor may be mere imitations of those of the second. The name of the legion does not occur in inscriptions found in Britain.

The legionary coins that I am now about to describe are only two in number, but several more that have already been published are in my collection.

15, 16. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—LEG · II · PARTH In exergue ML. Boar standing to right.

Æ. [PL. III. 1, 2.]

I have two examples of this coin, and have thought it worth while to figure both, inasmuch as they are from different dies. The usual device of the Legio Secunda, Parthica or Augusta is a Centaur walking to the left, and the boar in conjunction with the name of this legion on the coins of Carausius is, I believe, unpublished. A

boar with the name of Legio XX (Valeria Victrix) is to be seen on a coin in the Hunter collection at Glasgow.<sup>10</sup> On the coins of Gallienus the centaur is always the device of this legion, and the probability is that this coin relates to a legion under the command of Carausius rather than that the association of the new type with the old legend is merely a blunder.

17. *Obv.*—As no. 15.

*Rev.*—LEG · IIII · FLAVIA In exergue CXXI. Centaur walking to left, holding a wand in his left hand.

Æ. [Pl. III. 3.]

The usual emblem of this legion is a lion, or more rarely two lions facing. In the present instance the well-known device of the Second Legion has from some cause or other been adopted. Two coins bearing the name of the Legio quarta Flavia, one with a centaur to the right, and the other with one to the left, have been published by Mr. Roach Smith (*Coll. Ant.*, vii., pl. xxii. 1, 2). The latter may be the same coin as that above described. Akerman, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Coins* (1834), has figured a silver coin very nearly of this type, with the letter C in the exergue. Though this piece fetched a very high price at the Brumell sale, I am by no means confident as to its authenticity.

The coin here described seems to refer to a legion in Britain, and not to be a mere imitation of a coin of Gallienus.

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<sup>10</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pl. ix. 2.

18. *Obv.*—IMP C · CARAVSIVS P AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—NEPTVNO REDVCI In field S · P Neptune nude, standing to left, holding a dolphin on his right hand, and in his left a trident.

Æ. [Pl. III. 4.]

The sea-god is represented on several of the coins of Carausius both in silver and copper, either seated or forming part of a group of two, but this I believe to be the only instance at present known in which he stands as the principal device. The only other emperor on whose coins this reverse legend appears is the Gaulish usurper, Postumus, whose connection with the sea was infinitely less than that of Carausius.

19. *Obv.*—VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG Radiate and cuirassed bust to left, holding in the right hand a spear over the shoulder, and in the left a circular buckler.

*Rev.*—PROVI(DEN)T · AVG In exergue MLXXI, in field B - E. Providence standing left, holding in right hand a globe, and in left hand a transverse spear.

Æ. [Pl. III. 5.]

The principal interest of this coin arises from its obverse type and legend. I possess, however, nearly similar coins with the legend VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG, with the reverses—

EXPECTATE VENI MSCC in exergue.

PAX AVG, one with MLXXI in exergue, and

VICTORIA AVG

The exact meaning of the B - E in the field is at present involved in mystery.

20. *Obv.*—IMP CARAVSIVS P · AVG Radiate bust of  
mperor to left, as on no. 19.

*Rev.*—RESTIT SAECVL In exergue C. Emperor in  
military costume standing left, in his right  
hand a globe, and in his left a vertical spear;  
behind him Victory standing left, in her left  
hand a palm branch, with her right apparently  
crowning him.

Æ. [Pl. III. 6.]

This coin differs from two in the Hunter collection  
(*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pl. xii, 17, 18) in the type of the  
obverse, and the following coin in the type of the  
reverse.

21. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P F · AVG Radiate and draped  
bust to right.

*Rev.*—RESTIT (SAEC) In exergue XXIC Victory march-  
ing right, in her left hand a palm branch, in  
her right a wreath which she presents to the  
emperor in military costume standing left, and  
holding in his right hand a globe and in his  
left an upright spear.

Æ. [Pl. III. 7.]

The type of the reverse of this coin is new. It appears  
to have been borrowed from a coin of Probus (Cohen, 511),  
while that of the previous coin reproduces another device  
of the same emperor (Cohen, 513) with a slight variation.

22. *Obv.*—IMP CARAVSIVS (P) AVG Radiate and draped  
bust to right.

*Rev.*—SECVRIT · PERP In exergue ML, in field L.  
Security, draped, standing left, her right hand  
over her head, her left resting on a column.

Æ. [Pl. III. 8.]

This coin is of British fabric, probably from the London mint, and differs entirely from those found near Rouen, which were struck in France. The type seems to have been derived from coins of Probus.

23. *Obv.*—IMP · C · M · CARAVSIVS P · F · AV Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG Hercules, nude, marching right, in his left hand his club, which rests on the ground, in his right carrying what may possibly be the Hydra.

Æ. [Pl. III. 9.]

Hercules is represented on other coins of Carausius with the legend VIRTVTI AVG, but not in the attitude in which he appears on this coin. Unfortunately, the object that he carries is too indistinct to be accurately determined. I have another coin of the same type, but it does not assist in settling the question. In the case of a coin in the Hunter collection Hercules is described as holding a bow as well as a club.

24. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · AVG Radiate bust to left, with spear and shield, much as on no. 19.

*Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG Mars, nude, standing right, in his right hand a vertical spear, his left on a shield, which rests on the ground.

Æ. [Pl. III. 10.]

The peculiarity of this coin is the obverse, which gives the bust of the emperor in the same manner as the coins with the obverse legend VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG, a legend which in this case was unnecessary, owing to the VIRTVS appearing on the reverse.

25. *Obv.*—IMP CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate and draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—VIRTVS AVG In exergue CXXI. Mars, nude, standing right, in his right hand a vertical spear, his left resting on a shield.

Æ. [PL III. 11.]

This coin has the peculiarity of giving CXXI in the exergue of the reverse, showing that in all probability it was struck at Camulodunum. The XXI may well be in some manner indicative of value.

26. *Obv.*—IMP · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG Radiate bust to right.

*Rev.*—VIRTVS (MILIT)P In exergue XX. Britannia standing right, presenting a standard to the emperor standing left in military costume and holding a vertical spear.

Æ. [PL III. 12.]

The reverse type of this coin is new, but is closely connected with that of the coins reading EXPECTATE VENI. On the coins of Aurelianus, with much the same legend, it is a soldier, and not a province, that is presenting homage to the emperor.

With this coin my list concludes, and I can only express a hope that the details into which I have been compelled to enter may not have been intolerably dry. I may, however, claim to have added some new types and varieties to the long list already known of the coins of an emperor who, whatever there may be to say against him, was the first who claimed, and for some years secured, the independence of this kingdom of Britain.

JOHN EVANS.

## IV.

### ROMAN COINS FROM CROYDON.

(CONSTANTIUS II., CONSTANS, MAGNENTIUS, AND  
GALLUS.)

THE hoard which is described in the following pages<sup>1</sup> was found at Croydon, Surrey, on March 10, 1903, by a workman in the employ of the Corporation, who was digging a drain-trench in Wandle Road, opposite No. 56. The coins were contained in two pots, buried only two feet below the surface. The pots were in fragments, and so much is missing that reconstruction appears to be impossible. One of the pots, of a red clay, was decorated with a single band of pattern (a row of circular pits between parallel lines); the other, of grey clay and harder ware, appears to have been quite plain. The pots were apparently without handles.

The discovery of the hoard excited considerable interest, as is evident from the fact that, although when the coins were first counted they are said to have numbered 3600, the total number which I have been able to see amounts

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<sup>1</sup> The details of the discovery here given are gathered from information kindly supplied by Mr Samuel Jacobs, Assistant Town Clerk of Croydon, and from a report in the *Croydon Times* for March 11. I have to express my thanks to the Corporation for allowing me to examine and publish the hoard. Mr Head has shared the somewhat tedious task of sorting out the coins, and has made several suggestions which I have been glad to adopt. Finally, I have been able to profit by many valuable suggestions made by M Jules Maurice, who has kindly looked through the MS.



to 2796. Of these the Corporation have generously presented 210 to the Trustees of the British Museum; 23 are in the Guildford Museum; and the remainder have been returned to the Corporation, and, it is hoped, will be kept together in the Croydon Museum.

Every numismatist worthy of the name must deplore the way in which hoards are dispersed before they have been properly examined; but so long as collectors are allowed to defy the law of treasure-trove with impunity, it is hopeless to expect that hoards, to which the law unfortunately does not apply, should escape the hands of the spoiler. At the same time, since there are very few hoards which can be regarded as having been preserved in their entirety, and none of which we can be certain that, even if complete, they represent all the money in circulation at the date of deposit, we may assume that what remains in this case affords a fair average of the whole. With the proviso, therefore, that at any time my conclusions may be met by an *instantia contradictoria*, I proceed to deal with the hoard as if it were practically complete.

The coins (which are all of the kind known as "second brass") bear the busts and titles of the emperors Constans (1311), Constantius II. (738); Magnentius (724), and of the Caesar Constantius Gallus (11); further, twelve coins are so badly preserved that it is difficult to say whether they belong to Constans or to Constantius II. It is also very difficult in many cases to distinguish between the better executed barbarous imitations and the worse executed official issues, and, as there can be no doubt that the imitations were accepted in commerce, I have not attempted to draw the line between the two kinds. The mints represented are Ambiani, Treviri,

Lugdunum, Arelate, Roma, Aquileia, Siscia, Thessalonica, Constantinopolis, Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antiochia. The types and inscriptions are as follows:—

# TYPES OF OBVERSES.

*Constantius.*—*a.* Bust l., diademed, holding globe in hand.  
D · N · CONSTANTIVS P · F · AVG.

$\beta$  (1). Bust r., diademed. D · N · CONSTAN-  
TIVS P · F · AVG.

$\beta$  (2). Bust r., diademed. CONSTANTIVS P ·  
F · AVG.

*Constans.*— $\beta$  (1). Bust r., diademed. D · N · CONSTANS  
P · F · AVG.

$\beta$  (2). Bust r., diademed. CONSTANS P · F  
AVG.

*Magnentius.*— $\gamma$  (1). Bust r., bareheaded. IM · CAE · MAG-  
NENTIVS AVG.

$\gamma$  (2). Bust r., bareheaded. D · N · MAGNEN-  
TIVS P · F · AVG.

$\gamma$  (3). Bust r., bareheaded. MAGNENTIVS  
P · F · AVG.

$\delta$  (1). Bust r., diademed. D · N · MAGNENTIVS  
P · F · AVG.

$\delta$  (2). Bust r., diademed. D · N · MAGNENTIO  
PERPETVO AVG.

*Gallus.*— $\epsilon$  (1) Bust r., bareheaded. D · N · CONSTANTIVS  
NOB · CAES.

$\epsilon$  (2). Bust r., bareheaded. D · N · CONSTAN-  
TIVS NOB · C.

$\epsilon$  (3). Bust r., bareheaded. D · N · FL · CL ·  
CONSTANTIVS NOB · CAES.

$\epsilon$  (4) Bust r., bareheaded. D · N · CONSTAN-  
TIVS IVN · NOB · C.

TYPES OF REVERSES.

- A.—FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO Soldier walking to r., turning his head; he holds spear, and drags a young captive by the hand out of his hut; behind the hut, a tree. Cohen, vii. p. 448, no. 56.
- B.—FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO The emperor standing in a galley to l., holding Phoenix in r., labarum in l.; the galley is steered by Victory seated in the stern. Cohen, vii. p. 406, no. 9; p. 446, no. 35.
- C.—FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO Similar to B, but the Phoenix is replaced by a Victory holding out a wreath to the emperor. Cohen, vii. p. 406, no. 11; p. 445, no. 32; viii. p. 10, no. 11.
- D.—FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO Soldier l., piercing with his spear a fallen horseman. Cohen, vii. pp. 406, 407, nos. 15–17; p. 446, no. 44; p. 447, nos. 46, 47. This type (or a variety) is also described under Magnentius by Cohen, viii. p. 10, no. 14, on a small bronze.
- E — (1). SALVS AVG · NOSTRI Christian monogram between A and Ω. Cohen, vii. p. 466, no. 176.  
(2). SALVS DD · NN · AVG · ET CAES. Similar to E (1). Cohen, viii. p. 13, no. 31.
- F.—CONCORDIA MILITVM The emperor standing to front, looking l., holding labarum in each hand; above his head, a star. Cohen, vii. p. 439, no. 3.
- G.—GLORIA ROMANORVM The emperor on horseback r., about to spear kneeling enemy. Cohen, viii. p. 11, no. 20; p. 12, no. 24; cp. no. 22.
- H.—FELICITAS REIPVBLICE The emperor standing to front, looking l., holding Victory in r., labarum in l. Cohen, viii. p. 9, nos. 5–9.
- K.—VICTORIAE DD · NN · AVG · ET CAES Two Victories standing, holding wreath, within which VOT · V · MVLT · X. Cohen, viii. p. 19, no. 68.
- L.—VICTORIA AVG · LIB · ROMANOR. The emperor standing r., holding in r. standard (with eagle), in l. laurel-branch, l. foot on the back of a seated captive. Cohen, viii. p. 16, no. 57.
- M.—FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO The emperor standing l., holding labarum in r. Cohen, viii. p. 10, no. 12.

# CROYDON FIND ANALYSIS.

Types.	CONSTANTIVS II AVG							CONSTANS AVG							MAGNETIVS AVG							CON- STAN- TIVS GALLVS	CONSTAN- TIVS II or CONSTANS		Totals.
	A	B	C	D	E(1)	F	B or C	B	C	D	E(2)	G	H	K	L	M	D	B	P						
																				B or C					
Ambiani . .	1	272	31	1	2		1	53	739					1				1	99						42
Treviri . .		60	2	18				66	19									191							1597
Lugdunum .		25	1	33				31	74	11								73							316
Arelate . .		49		122				136		3								27							311
Roma . .		14	2	2				21	2									27							191
Aquileia . .			1	2															1						12
Siscia . .				2																					7
Thessalonica .				2																					2
Constantinop..				5				1																	6
Heraclea . .				3																					4
Oyzicus . .				2																					2
Nicomedia . .				3																					3
Antiochia . .																									1
Uncertain . .		45	3	30			4	79	42		12							19				7	5		272
Totals . .	1	465	40	223	2	2	5	387	896	14	14	1	99	1	1			311	1	1		11	7	5	
							738				1311														
								</																	

The date of the burial of the hoard, or rather of the issue of the latest coins contained in the hoard (for we must remember that they had to find their way to Britain), is apparently the first half of the year 351 A.D. It contains no coin of Decentius, and only two which allude to him, viz. the coins of Magnentius bearing the legend VICTORIAE (or SALVS) DD NN .AVG . ET CAES. (Lugdunum type E and Ambiani type K). It follows, therefore, that the latest coins must date from just after the elevation of Decentius to the rank of Caesar. On the other hand, Constantius Gallus, who was made Caesar by Constantius II. on March 15, 351, had enjoyed his rank for some time, since the hoard contains coins issued in his name at Eastern mints. The war between Magnentius and Constantius II. did not actually break out before the summer of 351; until that time, although Constantius had been preparing for war for nearly a year,<sup>2</sup> Magnentius would have continued to strike coins at the Western mints in the name of the rival Augustus and his Caesar. On the other hand, had any coins of Decentius been in existence, it would be remarkable that they should not be represented in this hoard, which consists mainly of coins issued in Gaul. Everything, therefore, conspires to show that the latest coins must be dated between the elevation of Gallus to the rank of Caesar and the outbreak of the war, *i.e.* to some time in the early summer of 351. The composition of the hoard also shows that Decentius was made Caesar only just before Magnentius left for the campaign against Constantius.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest types in the hoard are those which I have

<sup>2</sup> See Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, ii p. 249, note.

<sup>3</sup> Schiller, ii. p. 255, comes to the same conclusion.

called A, B, C. These, with still earlier types, all occurred in the hoard of "third brass" of Damery (Marne), which contained no coins of Magnentius.<sup>4</sup>

The Croydon hoard thus overlaps that of Damery by three types, but it contains no coins of the smallest module, to which, apparently, all the Damery pieces belonged.

But a record exists of another hoard, which must have been deposited at just about the same time as that of Croydon. It was contained in a leathern purse, protected by a pot, in a stone sarcophagus found at Rheinzabern in 1852.<sup>5</sup> Hettner describes 588 out of the 600 or 700 pieces which were found. They range from before 330 to the time of Magnentius and Decentius (one coin of Claudius II., the rest of Constantine the Great and his successors). The largest numbers belong to Constans Augustus (293) and Constantius II. Augustus (112). Magnentius has only 2 coins, Decentius 1. The majority are "small brass," but a few "middle brass" of the FEL·TEMP·REPARATIO group of Constans and Constantius were also included, and the three coins of Magnentius and Decentius are also "middle brass." There were, as in the Croydon find, a great number of blundered, barbarous imitations. For purposes of comparison I give here the analysis of the coins representing types also found in the Croydon hoard.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1837, p. 173; Lenormant, *La Monn. dans l'Ant.*, iii. p. 207; Mommsen-Blacas, iii. p. 136, no. 11. They were the latest types in the hoard, and were represented by about 100 specimens out of a total of some 3900. Even if, as is supposed, the coins of this hoard were all made at Damery under unusual circumstances, still they would represent the types then in circulation.

<sup>5</sup> Hettner, *Römische Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinlanden*, in the *West-deutsche Zeitschr für Gesch. u. Kunst*, vii. (1888), pp. 137 f.

	CONSTANTIVS II AVG	CONSTANS AVG		MAGNENTIVS AVG		DECENTIVS CAES	Totals.
	A	A	B or C	B or C	H	K	
Treviri . .	1	1	14		1	1	4
Lugdunum .							14
Roma . .	1	9					10
Uncertain .		1		1 (barbarous)			2
Totals. .	2	11	14	1	1	1	30

The number of coins (30) is so small that it is unsafe to base any argument on them. The hoard contained a coin of Decentius, but if we allow a month or two for the transport of coins from Trier to Britain, it is obvious that the Rheinzabern deposit may have been made at about the same time as that of Croydon, the new coin of Decentius not having at the time penetrated as far as Britain.<sup>6</sup>

To return to the types represented in the Croydon hoard. Types B and C, which had been issued by Constans in large quantities, were continued at Trier by Magnentius, but especially in the name of Constantius. Type B is not recorded for Magnentius by Cohen, and only one specimen occurs in the hoard. So far as I know, neither B nor C was struck at any mint but Trier by Magnentius in his own name. The only two specimens of type C in the name of Constantius II. with the mint-marks of Lugdunum are badly blundered, and are

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Hettner, p. 146.

probably barbarous imitations. At Arelate, again, type C was only issued in small quantities in the name of Constantius. Type D (another of the FEL TEMP REPARATIO types) is not much later than B and C, but was probably struck in larger quantities in the East than in the West. Constans and Magnentius between them provide only 15 specimens out of a total of 249. The coins of Magnentius of this type are evidently uncommon. Types G, H, K, L, M are confined to Magnentius. Types E, F, K, L, M were probably all issued for the first time in 350 or 351, for they occur in very small numbers; E and K, on the specimens issued by Magnentius, allude to the Caesarship of Decentius; F was introduced by Vetrano, from whom Constantius took it over;<sup>7</sup> and L probably refers to the crushing of Nepotian at Rome. In De Salis' arrangement of the British Museum collection, however, type E is usually placed first.

I cannot undertake here to discuss the history of the various mints during this period in the light of the new find; but I append brief notes on three points.

As was to be expected, the hoard contains a certain number of coins struck at Ambiani, where a mint was opened by Magnentius. It is true that M. Mowat has suggested<sup>8</sup> that this mint was opened in 352, after the defeat of Magnentius at Mursa; but our hoard, with its 42 coins of Ambiani, forces us to assign an earlier date to the opening of the mint, which was necessitated by the enormous quantity of the coins struck by Magnentius out of the treasure extorted from his subjects.<sup>9</sup> The mint-marks represented in the hoard (AMB, AM<sup>✠</sup>, AMB<sup>✠</sup>)

<sup>7</sup> Schiller, ii p 253.

<sup>8</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1895, p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Schiller, ii. p. 254.



belong to the earliest issues ; at a later date the star and crescent, as at other mints, were employed as differentiae.

Hettner (p. 146), in discussing the FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO types as represented at the mint of Trier, gives the following list, with the mint-marks which he has noticed :—

- (a) Phoenix on rock or globe. TRP● or TRP\*.
- (b) Soldier dragging captive from hut (our type A). TRP
- (c) Emperor in galley (our types B and C). TRP, sometimes in field A.
- (d, e). Soldier spearing fallen horseman (our type D). TRP, TRP∪.

Type *a* was, curiously enough, not represented in the Rheinzabern find, as it was not in that of Croydon. Its absence in the former case is peculiarly strange, since the find covered a long period anterior to its issue. Hettner's types *d*, *e* were also unrepresented at Rheinzabern. He points out that *d* (with the mint-mark TRP) was probably not issued in large quantities until after the fall of Magnentius. He also concludes that *e*, with TRP∪ was not issued at all until after that event. His conclusions are, on the whole, borne out by the new evidence, although a reference to the description of the find given below will show that his statement of the mint-marks found at Trier with these types requires modification.

Certain of the issues of Aquileia have been studied by M. Mowat.<sup>10</sup> The specimens in the hoard throw no light on the interpretation of the mint-marks peculiar to this mint and to Siscia, but the date of the hoard shows that M. Mowat's explanation of the numeral LXXII is incorrect. If the numeral referred, as he supposes, to the restoration of the sole monarchy on the fall of Magnentius, after

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<sup>10</sup> *Rev Num.*, 1897, pp. 136 f.

seventy-two years which had elapsed since the death of Probus, then this hoard must date as late as 354 A.D. I see no reason to doubt the explanation of the numeral as indicating that the coins were struck nominally at 72 to the pound. M. Mowat's average weight for the coins in question is 4·385 grammes. The weights of the three new specimens are—

Constantius (Aquileia)	...	...	4·146 grammes.
Gallus	...	...	4·562 „
(Siscia)	...	...	4·191 „

The combined averages yield 4·321 grammes, *i.e.* only 0·227 grammes (or less than 4 grains troy) below the normal weight. Surely such a slight deficiency in coins of this metal, especially if allowance be made for loss by wear, need not surprise us.

## LIST OF COINS.

## CONSTANTIUS II

AMBIANI.		Mint marks.	No.	Total.
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1). Behind head, A.	.	AMB	1	1
TREVIRI.				
<i>Rev.</i> —Type A.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\alpha$ .	. . . . .	TRP	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	. . . . .	TR	4	
" "	. . . . .	TRP	137	
" "	. . . . .	TRS	114	
" "	$\beta$ (2)	TRS	2	
" "	$\beta$ (1); 2 in legend	TR2	1	
" "	. . . . .	TR	8	
" "	" ; behind bust, A	TRS	1	
" "	" " " . . .	A   TRP	1	
" "	" " " . . .	A   TRS	4	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B or C.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	. . . . .	PRT	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	. . . . .	TRP	5	
" "	" . . . . .	TRS	24	
" "	" ; behind bust, A	A   TRS	2	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	. . . . .	TRS	1	
" "	" . . . . .	* TRP	4	
" "	" . . . . .	* TRS	4	

CONSTANTIUS II—*continued.*TREVIRI—*continued.**Rev.*—Type D—*continued.*

	Mint marks	No	Total
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1); behind bust, A . .	TRP	6	
" " " " " . .	TRS	1	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	A   TRS	1	
" " " " " . .	A   TR	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type E.		.	
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1) . . . . .	TRS*	2	
			325

## LUGDUNUM.

*Rev.*—Type B.

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	(DNCONSTATIVSPF- AVG) . . . . .	PLG	19
" " " " " . . . . .	PLG	1	
" " $\beta$ (2) . . . . .	PLG	1	
" " $\beta$ (1) . . . . .	SLG	20	
" " " (DNCONSTATIVS- PAV) . . . . .	SLG	1	
" " $\beta$ (1) . . . . .	SLG	7	
" " " (DNCONSTATIVSPF- AVG) . . . . .	SLG	2	
" " " . . . . .	*PLG	2	
" " " . . . . .	*SLG	2	
" " " . . . . .	A   PLG	2	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	PLG	2	
" " " " " . . . . .	SLG	1	

*Rev.*—Type C.

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1) (DNCOSNTATISVPF- AVG; TAMP for TEMP on rev) . . . . .	PLG	1	
" " " (DNCONSTATIVSPF- AVG, rev. inscr. blun- dered) . . . . .	SLG	1	

*Rev.*—Type D

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1) . . . . .	SLG*	1	
" " " . . . . .	* SLG	4	

CONSTANTIUS II—*continued.*

 LUGDUNUM—*continued.*

 Rev.—Type D—*continued.*

 Obv.—Type  $\beta$  (1) (DNCONSTANTIVSPF-  
AVG) . . .

" " " . . .

" " " . . .

" " " . . .

" " " . . .

" " " . . .

" " " ; behind bust, A . .

" " " " " . .

" " " " " (DNCON-

 STATIVSPFAVG; rev.  
inscr blundered) .

 " " " ; behind bust, M (DN-  
CONSTHTHSPPFAV;  
rev inscr. blundered).

## ARELATE

## Rev.—Type B.

 Obv.—Type  $\beta$  (1) . . .

" " " . . .

## Rev.—Type C

 Obv.—Type  $\beta$  (1); behind bust, A . .

## Rev.—Type D.

 Obv.—Type  $\beta$  (1) . . .

" " " . . .

 " " " (inscr. blundered on both  
sides) . . .

" " " . . .

" " " ; behind bust, A . .

Mint marks

No

Total

A |

PLG

1

A |

DJJ

1

A |

SLG

2

A | \*

PLG

1

A |

SLG\*

1

FPLG

1

A |

LG

1

A |

PLG

2

A |

SLG\*

16

A |

DJJ

1

N |

LG

1

105

PARL

23

SARL

2

A |

SARL

1

PARL

1

A |

PARL

3

A |

VQHJ

1

A |

PARL\*

1

A |

PAR

1

or, A |

PARL

87

CONSTANTIUS II—*continued.*ARELATE—*continued.**Rev.*—Type D—*continued.**Obv.*—Type β (1); behind bust, A . . .

" " " " " . . .

" " " " " . . .

" " " " " . . .

" " " " " . . .

Mint marks	No.	Total.
A   PAR	1	
A   SARL	22	
A   L PARL	2	
A   PAR · F	2	
A   SAR · F	2	

148

## ROMA.

*Rev.*—Type B*Obv.*—Type β (1) . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

RP	12
RS	6
RT	1
RQ	12
RE	16
R	1
A   RP	1

49

## AQUILEIA.

*Rev.*—Type B.*Obv.*—Type β (1) . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " β (2) . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

AQP	2
AQS	2
AQS	3
RCS	1
AQS.	2
AQT	4

*Rev.*—Type C*Obv.*—Type β (1) (CONSANTINVSPF-  
AVG) . . . . .

" " " " " . . . . .

AQS	1
AQT	1

*Rev.*—Type D.*Obv.*—Type β (1) . . . . ." " " ; behind bust, A; in field  
of rev., LXXII

* AQT	1
AQP	1

18

CONSTANTIUS II—*continued.*

SISCIA.					Mint marks.	No.	Total
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1)	.	.	.	.	SIS	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1); behind bust, A	.	.	.	.	II   ASIS	2	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type F.							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1); behind bust, A	.	.	.	.	III   FSISW	1	
"	"	"	"	"	III   SIS	1	
							5
THESSALONICA.							
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1), behind bust, Δ	.	.	.	.	II   *TSB	1	
"	"	"	"	"	II   *TSI	1	
							2
CONSTANTINOPOLIS.							
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1); behind bust, Δ	.	.	.	.	Γ.   CONSĀ	1	
"	"	"	"	"	Γ.   CONSI	1	
"	"	"	"	"	B   CONSIA	1	
"	"	"	"	"	Γ.   CONS. I	1	
"	"	"	"	"	Γ.   ////	1	
							5
HERACLEA.							
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D							
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1)	.	.	.	.	Γ   SMHB	1	
"	"	"	"	"	Γ   SMHΔ	1	
"	"	"	"	" ; behind bust, Δ	SMHΓ	1	
							3

CONSTANTIUS II—*continued.*

CYZICUS		Mint marks	No	Total
<i>Rev</i> —Type D				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	Γ   ·SMKA	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Γ   ·SMKS	1	
				2
NICOMEDIA.				
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	Γ   ·SMNB	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Γ   SMNΔ	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Γ   SMNS	1	
				3
UNCERTAIN MINTS.				
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B.				
<i>Obv</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	ΣRC	1	
" "	" (rev. inser. blundered)	ΑοϢ	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Illegible	40	
" "	β (2) . . . . .	"	3	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B or C.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	Illegible	2	
" "	β (2) . . . . .	"	2	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.				
<i>Obv</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	Illegible	3	
<i>Rev</i> —Type D.				
<i>Obv</i> —Type β (1)	. . . . .	Illegible	3	
" "	" . . . . .	Γ   * 	1	
" "	" . . . . .	A   	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Γ   	1	
" "	" ; behind bust, A . . .	Illegible	2	
" "	" " " " " " . . .	A   	21	
" "	" " " " Δ . . .	·S·   	1	
		(? Thessalo- nica)		82



CONSTANS.

TREVIRI.						Mint marks	No.	Total
Rev.—Type B								
Obv.—Type $\beta$ (1)	.	.	.	.	.	TR	6	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	TRP	15	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	TRS	28	
" "	"	$\beta$ (2)	.	.	.	TRS	2	
" "	"	$\beta$ (1)	.	.	.	TR≡	1	
" "	"	" , behind bust, A	.	.	.	A   TRP	1	
Rev.—Type C								
Obv.—Type $\beta$ (1)	.	.	.	.	.	TRP	245	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	TRS	193	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	TR*	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	TR≡	2	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	A   TRP	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	A   TRS	1	
" "	"	" ; behind bust, A	.	.	.	A   TR	1	
" "	"	" "	"	"	.	A   TRP	163	
" "	"	" "	"	"	.	A   TRS	150	
" "	"	" "	"	"	.	A   TR≡	2	
								812
LUGDUNUM.								
Rev.—Type B.								
Obv.—Type $\beta$ (1)	.	.	.	.	.	LG	3	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	LVG	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	PLG	32	
" "	"	"	(DNCONSTANS PF-AVG)			PLG	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	ILG	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	GLP	2	
" "	"	"	(one with CONTANS)			SLG	5	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	*PLG	9	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	*PLG.	8	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	*SLG.	1	
" "	"	"	.	.	.	A   PLG	1	

CONSTANS—*continued.*





LUGDUNUM— <i>continued.</i>	Mint marks	No	Total.
<i>Rev</i> —Type B— <i>continued</i>			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	A   — PLG	1	
” ” ” ; behind bust, A . . .	PLG	1	
<i>Rev</i> —Type B or C			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	PLGo	1	
” ” ” . . . . .	LGP	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) (DNCONSTASPF AVG)	LG	1	
” ” ” ; behind bust, A . . .	FPLG	1	
” ” ” ” ” . . .	A   — *PLG	17	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	PLG*	3	
” ” ” . . . . .	* — PLG	8	
			98
ARELATE.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	SARL	31	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1); behind bust, A . . .	A   — SARL	74	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	SARL*	3	
			108
ROMA.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type β (1) . . . . .	RP	11	
” ” ” . . . . .	RQ	1	
” ” ” . . . . .	RS	12	
” ” ” . . . . .	RT	38	
” ” ” . . . . .	RQ	25	
” ” ” . . . . .	RE	40	
” ” ” . . . . .	R≡	5	



CONSTANS—*continued.*

UNCERTAIN MINTS— <i>continued.</i>		Mint marks	No	Total.
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1)	(DNCOM2TANSPF-AVG) . . . . .	EC	1	
" "	" . . . . .	Illegible	22	
" "	" ; behind bust, A . . .	A   ////	19	
				133

## MAGNENTIUS.

AMBIANI.		Mint marks	No.	Total.
<i>Rev.</i> —Type G.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2)	. . . . .	AMB	1	
" "	" ; behind bust, A . . .	AMB	1	
" "	" " " . . .	AMB 	34	
" "	$\delta$ (1) . . . . .	AM 	2	
" "	" . . . . .	AMB 	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type H.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2); behind bust, A . . .		AMB	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type K.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2), behind bust, A . . .		AMB	1	
				41
TREVIRI.				
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (1); behind bust, A . . .		A   TRS	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type C.				
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (1)	. . . . .	A   TRP	1	
" "	" ; behind bust, A . . .	A   TRP	41	
" "	" " " . . .	A   TRS	54	
" "	" " " . . .	A   TR 	3	

MAGNENTIUS—*continued.*

TREVIRI—*continued*

	Mint marks	No.	Total
<i>Rev.</i> —Type G			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type γ (1) . . . . .	TRS	1	
" " γ (2); behind bust, A . .	TRP	12	
" " " " " " . .	TRS	7	
" " " " " " . .	TRω	1	
" " " " " " . .	TRP.	18	
" " " " " " . .	TRS.	27	
" " " " " " . .	TRSU	1	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	TRPU	53	
" " " " " " . .	TRSU	44	
" " " " " " . .	TRS≡	3	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type H.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type γ (1) . . . . .	TRP	1	
" " γ (2); behind bust, A . .	TRP	1	
" " γ (1) . . . . .	TRS	1	
" " " (IMCAEMAGNENTI- VSAV; FELICITAS REIPVBLI) . .	$\frac{  A}{TR}$	1	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{TRP}$	59	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{PRT}$	2	
" " γ (3) <i>obv.</i> inscr. ends AV; be- hind bust, Λ (mono- gram or standard blundered; FELICI- TAS REIPVBLIC) .	$\frac{  A}{TRP}$	1	
" " γ (1) . . . . .	$\frac{A  }{TRS}$	1	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{TRS}$	38	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{TRPU}$	42	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{TRSU}$	35	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	$\frac{  A}{TRSU}$	1	
" " " " " " " " . .	$\frac{  A}{TR \equiv \equiv}$	1	
" " γ (2); behind bust, A . .	$\frac{  A}{TRSU}$	1	

MAGNENTIUS—*continued.*TREVIRI—*continued**Rev.*—Type H—*continued*

	Mint marks	No	Total
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2), behind bust, A . . .	$\begin{array}{c} S   A \\ \hline TRSU \end{array}$	1	
” ” $\delta$ (1) . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c} 99T \\   A \\ \hline TRP \end{array}$	1	
” ” ” . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c}   A \\ \hline TRP \end{array}$	3	
” ” ” ; behind bust, A . . .	$\begin{array}{c} A   \\ \hline TRS \end{array}$	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type M			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\delta$ (1) . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c} \text{fnd} \end{array}$	1	
			459

## LUGDUNUM.

*Rev.*—Type E.

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2) . . . . .	RPLG	1	
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*Rev.*—Type G

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (1) . . . . .	RPLG	1	
” ” $\gamma$ (2) . . . . .	RPLG	1	
” ” ” ; behind bust, A . . .	RPLG	19	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	RSLG	18	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	RPLG	3	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	URPLG	1	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	URSLG	4	
” ” $\delta$ (1) . . . . .	RPLG	1	

*Rev.*—Type H.

<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2) . . . . .	RPLG	1	
” ” ” . . . . .	RSLG	1	
” ” ” ; behind bust, A . . .	RPLG	1	
” ” $\gamma$ (3) ” ” . . . . .	RPLG	1	
” ” $\gamma$ (2) ” ” . . . . .	RSLG	1	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	URSLG	1	
” ” ” . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c}   A \\ \hline RPLG \end{array}$	1	
” ” $\gamma$ (1) . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c}   A \\ \hline RSLG \end{array}$	1	
” ” $\gamma$ (2); behind bust, A . .	$\begin{array}{c}   A \\ \hline RPLG \end{array}$	2	
” ” ” ” ” . . . . .	$\begin{array}{c}   A \\ \hline RSLG \end{array}$	1	

MAGNENTIUS—*continued*.

 LUGDUNUM—*continued*.

 Rev.—Type H—*continued*

	Mint marks	No	Total
<i>Obv</i> —Type δ (1) (M in inscr) . . .	PLG	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	RPLG	32	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	RPLQ	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	RSLG	21	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	R $\parallel$ LG	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	FPLG	2	
" " " " (DNMAONNTIVSPF-AVG) . . .	FSLG	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	A FPLG	1	
" " " " " ; behind bust, A . . .	A FSLG	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	TPLG	1	
			122

## ARELATE.

## Rev.—Type D.

<i>Obv</i> —Type δ (1); behind bust, A . . .	A SARL	1	
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## Rev.—Type G.

<i>Obv</i> —Type γ (2) behind bust, A . . .	* PAR	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	* SAR	19	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	* SAR.	4	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	* SAR $\parallel$	1	
" " " " " " " " " " " "	L SARL	2	

## Rev.—Type H.

<i>Obv</i> —Type γ (2); $\otimes$ on standard . . .	A PAR	1	
" " δ (1); ○ " " " " " "	PAR	5	
" " " ; ○ " " " " " "	SAR	9	
" " " ; X " " " " " "	SAR	1	
" " δ (2); ○ " " " " " "	SAR	2	
" " δ (1); ○ " " " " " "	F PAR	1	
" " " ; ○ " " " " " "	F SAR	8	

MAGNENTIUS—*continued*.

ROMA	Mint marks	No.	Total
<i>Rev.</i> —Type G.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2), behind bust, A . .	$\frac{  *}{RS}$	1	
" " " " " . .	$\frac{  *}{RT}$	1	
" " " " " . .	$\frac{  *}{RQ}$	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type L.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (1) (IMPCAEMAGNENTIVSAVG) . .	RT	1	
			4
UNCERTAIN MINTS.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type G.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (2) . . . . .	Illegible	1	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	"	21	
" " $\delta$ (1) . . . . .	"	1	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type H.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\gamma$ (1) . . . . .	$\frac{  A}{////}$	9	
" " " ; behind bust, A . .	$\frac{  A}{////}$	2	
" " $\gamma$ (2) . . . . .	$\frac{  A}{////}$	1	
" " $\delta$ (1) . . . . .	Illegible	7	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type M			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\delta$ (1); behind bust, A . .	$\frac{A  }{////}$	1	
			43



CONSTANTIUS GALLUS

	Mint marks	No.	Total
TREVIRI.			
<i>Rev</i> —Type D			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (1); behind bust, A . . .	TRS	1	
LUGDUNUM.			
<i>Rev</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (3) . . . . .	≡SLG	1	
ROMA.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (3); behind bust, Δ . . .	$\frac{\Gamma  }{RE}$	1	
” ” ” ” ” . . .	$\frac{\Gamma  }{RQE}$	1	
AQUILEIA.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (4), behind bust, A; in field of rev. LXXII . . .	$\frac{S  }{AQS}$	1	
SISCIA.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (4), behind bust, A . . .	$\frac{II  }{SIS}$	1	
” ” ” ” ” ; in field of rev LXXII . . .	$\frac{ }{ASISW}$	1	
HERACLEA.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (2); behind bust, Δ . . .	SMHΔ	1	
ANTIOCHIA			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (1) . . . . .	ANB	1	
UNCERTAIN MINTS.			
<i>Rev.</i> —Type D.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type ε (3) . . . . .	Illegible	1	
” ” ” , behind bust, A . . .	$\frac{\Gamma  }{    }$	1	
			54

## UNCERTAIN EMPERORS.

(EITHER CONSTANTIIUS II. OR CONSTANS.)

UNCERTAIN MINTS.	Mint marks.	No.	Total.
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1) or $\beta$ (2) . . .	Illegible	7	
<i>Rev.</i> —Type B or C.			
<i>Obv.</i> —Type $\beta$ (1) or $\beta$ (2) . . .	Illegible	5	
			12

G. F. HILL.

## V.

### A HOARD OF EDWARD PENNIES FOUND AT LOCHMABEN.

(See Plate IV.)<sup>1</sup>

ON October 11, 1904, while a labourer named Matthew Green, belonging to Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, was engaged in filling in a drain in a park near the town, he came upon a small earthenware vessel containing a number of coins. The upper part and the handle were broken away; otherwise it was intact, and it still showed here and there a few patches of the yellowish-green glaze with which it had originally been covered. It is interesting to note that in shape, dimensions, and fabric it was almost an exact counterpart of the vase or jar of which Sir John Evans gives a description and a figure in his account of the find at Neville's Cross.<sup>2</sup>

Green believes that when he counted the contents of the vessel there were 476 pieces in all. Unfortunately it is not possible to verify his impression, as the coins did not pass direct into the hands of the Crown authorities. The total received by the King's Remembrancer was 448. These were forwarded by him in ordinary course to

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<sup>1</sup> After I had examined and classified the find, it was returned by the Crown authorities to the finder, and at once dispersed. As I did not secure impressions of any of the coins when they were in my hands, this paper is illustrated from typical specimens in the British Museum, selected by the Editors.

<sup>2</sup> *Num Chron.*, Ser III. vol. ix p. 313

the National Museum in Edinburgh for examination and report. A summary will indicate the general character of the hoard.

*Edward I., II. (and III.?)*

English pennies	.	.	.	422
Irish pennies	.	.	.	5

*Alexander III.*

Long Cross pennies	.	.	.	9
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<i>Foreign sterlings</i>	.	.	.	12
Total	.	.	.	448

With the exception of one or two of the foreign sterlings, which were badly corroded, the coins were in good condition. In almost every instance it was possible to determine the exact variety to which a specimen belonged. There were hardly any rarities, the few Scottish coins, in particular, being of the commonest. At the same time, the hoard presented one distinct advantage from the numismatic point of view. It was of singularly convenient size, being sufficiently large to be fairly representative, and yet not large enough to render a minute scrutiny an unduly irksome task. In subjecting the coins to a very careful examination, my original intention was merely to compile an exact record which should illustrate the conclusions arrived at by Messrs. Grueber and Lawrence in their masterly report on the Balcombe find. But when the record was completed, there were seen running through it certain lines of demarcation which seemed to justify me in proposing a more detailed classification of the pennies of Edward I. than any hitherto suggested. This attempt, it should be premised, rests wholly on the evidence of the present hoard, although its value has subsequently been tested

by a comparison with the trays of the Hunter Cabinet. At the best, it will require to be supplemented, if not to be corrected, by further researches on the part of those who are more at home in the field of English numismatics than I can pretend to be. But when the problems to be solved are complicated, it is only by small stages that progress is possible at all.

Our main concern is with the English pennies of the Edwards. The first rough arrangement of these was based on the spelling of the king's name and title. They fell into the following groups, each of which we shall have to discuss separately:—

EDW R	.	.	.	.	.	.	155
EDWA R	.	.	.	.	.	.	175
EDWAR R	.	.	.	.	.	.	83
EDWARD R	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
EDW REX	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
							<u>422</u>

#### COINS READING EDW R.

The coins reading EDW R were first sorted by mints, and then subdivided according to the principles of classification laid down by Hawkins. This subdivision completed, the obverses were scanned closely, with the view of discovering whether the hoard would yield any examples of the type with bushy hair and spread bust, the lateness of which was first noted by Sainthill,<sup>3</sup> and afterwards, independently, by Mr. A. J. Evans in his account of the Oxford find.<sup>4</sup> No such pieces were forthcoming, and it was therefore permissible to conclude that

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiv. p. 20

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Ser. II. vol. xi. p. 264 ff

the whole 155 coins were struck during the reign of Edward I. But the examination also revealed certain points of difference, after repeated observation of which the conclusions now to be stated were reached.

Apart from the late specimens which were mentioned above, and which were unrepresented in this find, the pennies reading EDW R can best be arranged, not in three main classes, as Hawkins suggested, but in two, which we shall call Class A and Class B respectively.<sup>5</sup> Class A corresponds to the "Class I" of Hawkins. A broader *flan*, a larger mint-mark, a superior style of lettering—these are the characteristics by which the coins that belong to it are distinguished. A very little experience enables one to recognize them at a glance. Further, each of the two main classes consists of two divisions, to which we shall give the names of Division *a* and Division *β*, while each division in its turn presents us with not less than two varieties. "Mules" between different varieties of the same division are not uncommon. "Mules" between different divisions are almost unknown.<sup>6</sup> In all, the hoard contained 107 pennies belonging to Class A, and only 48 belonging to class B.

The simplest method of securing a verdict on the merits of the proposed classification will be to give a catalogue of the find. To save space, we shall omit all mention of the types. The variation in these is too slight to be of service. We shall take Class A first, and deal with each of its two divisions separately. The most

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<sup>5</sup> The nomenclature I have adopted is, I fear, a somewhat awkward one, but for a tentative classification it possesses distinct advantages.

<sup>6</sup> I speak of this find only. It is not improbable that wider examination would show a larger number of these. This might be an aid in determining chronological sequence.

striking characteristics of the class as a whole have already been enumerated. Minor differences will show themselves as we proceed. Division  $\alpha$  is distinguished from Division  $\beta$  by the use of the barred  $\pi$  as compared with the unbarred  $\pi$ . Similarly, the two most important varieties of Division  $\alpha$  are distinguished from each other by the use of  $N$  and  $\mathfrak{N}$  respectively. The changes in the forms of  $C$  and  $E$  are not constant, but an endeavour will be made to indicate them as they occur. In the list that follows the mints are taken in the usual order.

## LONDON.

Variety =  $A\alpha^1$ .

*Obv.*— $\pi$  EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 41

[Pl. IV. 1.]

Variety =  $A\alpha^2$ .

*Obv.*— $\pi$  EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB<sup>7</sup> }  
*Rev.*— CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 11

*Mule.*

*Obv.*—As  $A\alpha^1$  }  
*Rev.*—As  $A\alpha^2$  } . . . 1

## BRISTOL.

Variety =  $A\alpha^1$ .

*Obv.*— $\pi$  EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— VILL ABRI STO LLIE } . . . 3<sup>8</sup>

Variety =  $A\alpha^2$ .

*Obv.*— $\pi$  EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— VILL ABRI STO LLIE } . . . 3

<sup>7</sup> The closing of the  $\pi$  was not invariable. This applied to  $A\alpha^2$  at other mints besides London. Sometimes it was impossible to distinguish between the open and the closed form.

<sup>8</sup> On the reverse of one specimen the inscription was differently divided—VILL ABRI STO LLIE.

## CANTERBURY.

Variety = Aa<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS CAN TOR } . . . 13

Variety = Aa<sup>2</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS CAN TOR } . . . 1

[Pl. IV. 2.]

## DURHAM.

I. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP BECK (1283-1310).

Variety Aa<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—⊕ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.—⊕ CIVI TAS DVR EME } . . . 1

[Pl. IV. 3.]

## II. WITH ORDINARY MINT-MARK.

Variety = Aa<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS DVR EME } . . . 4

Variety = Aa<sup>1bis 9</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS DVR EMA } . . . 2

## LINCOLN.

Variety = Aa<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS LIN COL' } . . . 3

<sup>9</sup> This is obviously very closely connected with Aa<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, the fact that both E and M had a different form, justified its being classed apart.



## NEWCASTLE.

Variety =  $A\alpha^1$ .

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— VILL ANO VICA STRI } . . . 1

## YORK.

Variety =  $A\alpha^1$ .

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS EBO RACI } . . . 4

Turning now to Division  $\beta$ —differentiated, as will be remembered, by the use of the unbarred  $\pi$ —we find that it is much smaller than Division  $\alpha$ , but that it contains a larger number of distinct varieties. In the present hoard the only mints represented are London and Canterbury.

## LONDON.

Variety =  $A\beta^1$ .

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 2

Variety =  $A\beta^2$ .

Obv.—✠ • EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' <sup>10</sup> }  
 Rev.— • CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 4

Variety =  $A\beta^3$ .<sup>11</sup>

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
 (Three dots on king's breast) } . . . 1  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS • LON DON <sup>12</sup> }

[Pl. IV. 4.]

<sup>10</sup> The apostrophe at the end was certain on the London coins, but doubtful on the corresponding variety at Canterbury.

<sup>11</sup> This rare variety was represented in the Oxford hoard; see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. II. vol. xi. p. 265. The Hunter Cabinet contains an example of the same variety from the *Canterbury* Mint, the dot on the reverse being placed before TOR, instead of before CAN. Cf. no. 10 of the Balcombe find (*Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 23).

<sup>12</sup> The example illustrated is double-struck on the reverse.

Variety =  $A\beta^4$ .<sup>13</sup>

Obv.— $\text{✠} \text{QDWR} \text{'ANGL} \text{'DNSHYB}$  }  
 (Rosette on king's breast)  
 Rev.—CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 1

[Pl. IV. 5.]

*Mule.*

Obv.—As  $A\beta^2$  }  
 Rev.—As  $A\beta^3$  } . . . 1

### CANTERBURY.

Variety =  $A\beta^2$ .

Obv.— $\text{✠} \cdot \text{EDWR} \text{'ANGL} \text{'DNSHYB}$  }  
 Rev.—CIVI TAS CAN TOR } . . . 7

Variety doubtful<sup>14</sup> . . . 3

In giving our lists of the coins belonging to Class B, it will be convenient to describe both divisions together. This class includes Class II. and Class III. of Hawkins. The lettering, as well as the work generally, is inferior to that found in Class A. The coins are usually less well spread, and where they are well spread there is often a tendency for the reverse to become scyphate. They fall, like the coins of Class A, into two main divisions. The differentia between these is not, however, the presence or absence of a star, as Hawkins considered, but the particular form assumed by the letter N.<sup>15</sup> The star distinguishes the varieties *within the*

<sup>13</sup> There was also a single example of  $A\beta^4$  in the Balcombe hoard; see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. III. vol. xviii. pl. iii. 1. There is another in the Hunter Collection. A specimen of the same variety from the *Canterbury* Mint is figured in *Num. Chron. l.c.*, pl. iii. 2.

<sup>14</sup> These three coins were a good deal rubbed, and it was impossible to assign them confidently. On one there was a pellet on the reverse before TOR. This probably belonged to  $A\beta^3$ ; see footnote 11 on p. 69 *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> The use of apostrophes is another criterion.

*divisions.* The lists given below will, I think, place this beyond all doubt, the Newcastle pennies being specially instructive. The  $\pi$  is always without the bar, and the  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$  are practically always closed.

## LONDON.

Variety =  $B\alpha^1$ .

*Obv.*— $\star$   $\epsilon$ DWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
*Rev.*—  $\alpha$ IVI T $\alpha$ S LON DON } . . . 2  
 [Pl. IV. 6.]

Variety =  $B\alpha^2$ .

Similar to  $B\alpha^1$ , but star on king's breast. . . 2

Variety =  $B\beta^1$ .

*Obv.*— $\star$   $\epsilon$ DWR'ANGLD $\pi$ SHYB<sup>16</sup> }  
*Rev.*—  $\alpha$ IVI T $\alpha$ S LO $\pi$  DO $\pi$  } . . . 11  
 [Pl. IV. 7.]

Variety =  $B\beta^2$ .

Similar to  $B\beta^1$ , but star on king's breast . . . 10

BRISTOL.<sup>17</sup>

Variety =  $B\alpha^2$ .

*Obv.*— $\star$   $\epsilon$ DWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
 (Star on king's breast) } . . . 1  
*Rev.*— VILL BRI STO LI $\epsilon$  }

Variety =  $B\beta^1$ .

*Obv.*— $\star$   $\epsilon$ DWR'ANGL'D $\pi$ SHYB' }  
*Rev.*— VILL BRI STO LI $\epsilon$  } . . . 1

Variety =  $B\beta^2$ .

Similar to  $B\beta^1$ , but star on king's breast . . . 1

<sup>16</sup> On coins of all mints the apostrophe on  $B\beta^1$  and  $B\beta^2$  was always small, and sometimes barely visible

<sup>17</sup> Note that the mint name is spelt with two L's in Class A, and with one L in Class B.

## CANTERBURY.

Variety = Ba<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
 Rev.— QIVI TAS QAN TOR } . . . 1

Variety = Ba<sup>2</sup>.

Similar to Ba<sup>1</sup>, but star on king's breast . . . 1

Variety = Bβ<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGLD<sup>u</sup>SHYB' }  
 Rev.— QIVI TAS C<sup>u</sup>AN TOR } : . . 1

[Pl. IV. 8.]

Variety = Bβ<sup>2</sup>.

Similar to Bβ<sup>1</sup>, but star on king's breast . . . 1

Mule.

Obv.—As Ba<sup>1</sup> }  
 Rev.—As Bβ } . . . . . 1

## CHESTER.

Variety = Bβ<sup>2</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGLD<sup>u</sup>SHYB' }  
 (Star on king's breast) } . . . 2  
 Rev.— QIVI TAS QAS TRIQ }

## DURHAM.

I. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP BECK (1283-1310).

Variety = Ba<sup>2</sup>.

Obv.—⊕ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
 (Star on king's breast) } . . . 1  
 Rev.—⊕ QIV ITAS DVR QNQ<sup>18</sup> }

II. WITH ORDINARY MINT-MARK.

Variety = Ba<sup>1</sup>.

Obv.—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
 Rev.— QIVI TAS DVR QNQ } . . . 1

<sup>18</sup> The form of M on this and the variety next to be described was not distinguishable from N,

Variety =  $B\beta^2$ .

*Obv.*—✠ EDWR'NGLDUSHYB }  
 (Star on king's breast)  
*Rev.*— QIVI TΛS DVR EME<sup>19</sup> } . . . 2

### III. MULE BETWEEN EPISCOPAL AND ORDINARY MINTS.

*Obv.*—As  $B\alpha^1$  of I. }  
*Rev.*—As  $B\alpha$  of II. } . . . 1

### NEWCASTLE.<sup>20</sup>

Variety =  $B\alpha^1$ .

*Obv.*—✠ EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
*Rev.*— VILL NOVI QΛS TRI } . . . 1

Variety =  $B\alpha^2$ .

Similar to  $B\alpha^1$ , but with star on king's breast<sup>21</sup> . 1

Variety =  $B\beta^1$ .

*Obv.*—✠ EDWR'NGLDUSHYB }  
*Rev.*— VILL NOV QΛS TRI } . . . 1

Variety =  $B\beta^2$ .

Similar to  $B\beta^1$ , but star on king's breast . 1

### YORK.

Variety =  $B\beta^1$ .

*Obv.*—✠ EDWR'NGLDUSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TΛS EBO RΛQI } . . . 2

Variety =  $B\beta^2$ .

Similar to  $B\beta^1$ , but star on king's breast . 2<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> On both specimens the exact form of M was obscure. I have, therefore, printed it simply in conventional fashion

<sup>20</sup> Note the difference in the spelling of the mint name on  $\alpha^1$  and  $\alpha^2$ , as compared with  $\beta^1$  and  $\beta^2$ , and also the difference as compared with Class A. I have seen coins of  $B\alpha^1$  with N()V, which represents a transition stage.

<sup>21</sup> The bar of the N was hardly visible on this piece.

<sup>22</sup> On one of these two specimens the mint name was arranged thus—EBOR ΛCI.

Looking back over the preceding catalogue of EDW R pennies, we find that it has been possible to distinguish at least ten different varieties, and, further, that in most cases these varieties have been issued, no doubt simultaneously, from several different mints, the dies being all cut at one centre, presumably London. The existence of "mules" proves that, although the varieties are distinct, some of them are practically contemporaneous. It would be premature to offer any suggestions as to the chronological order of the issues. But I venture to think that light may ultimately dawn even upon that obscure question, if further observation should confirm the outline sketched above and enable additional details to be filled in. Assuming that all of Edward I's pennies read EDW R (an assumption that we shall subsequently have occasion to question), we may give the following summary of the issues and mints, so far as the material above described can carry us:—

Mints.	A						B			
	$\alpha^1$	$\alpha^2$	$\beta^1$	$\beta^2$	$\beta^3$	$\beta^4$	$\alpha^1$	$\alpha^2$	$\beta^1$	$\beta^2$
London . . .	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bristol . . .	+	+						+	+	+
Canterbury <sup>23</sup> . .	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Chester . . .										+
Durham . . .	+						+	+		+
Lincoln . . .	+									
Newcastle . .	+						+	+	+	+
York . . .	+								+	+

<sup>23</sup> I include two Canterbury coins ( $A\beta^3$  and  $A\beta^4$ ) not represented in the Lochmaben find, but cited in the footnotes.

## COINS READING EDWA R.

The pennies reading EDWA R were the most numerous of all the groups. They also proved to be much more homogeneous than those reading EDW R. Minor varieties were occasionally distinguishable. But there were no well-marked classes or divisions. The following record contains all the points of interest:—

## LONDON.

<i>Obv.</i> —† EDWÆRÆNGLDNSHYB }					
<i>Rev.</i> — QIVT TÆS LON DON }	.	.	.	.	83

[Pl. IV. 9.]

Variety with ÆNGDNS . . . . .	1
„ „ ñ on obv. . . . .	2
„ „ ñ on rev. . . . .	3
„ „ ñ on rev. . . . .	1

BERWICK.<sup>24</sup>

<i>Obv.</i> —† EDWÆRÆNGLDNSHYB }					
<i>Rev.</i> — VILL ÆBE REV VICI }	.	.	.	.	5
Variety with ÆNGLOUS . . . . .	.	.	.	.	2

## BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

<i>Obv.</i> —† EDWÆRÆNGLDNSHYB }					
<i>Rev.</i> — VILL SÆIÆ DMV NDI }	.	.	.	.	11

## CANTERBURY.

<i>Obv.</i> —† EDWÆRÆNGLDNSHYB }					
<i>Rev.</i> — QIVI TÆS CÆN TOR }	.	.	.	.	49

[Pl. IV. 10.]

Variety with TÆS TOR . . . . .	1
„ „ Æ on rev. <sup>25</sup> . . . . .	1

<sup>24</sup> The work on all of the Berwick coins was particularly poor. E and C are always open.

<sup>25</sup> This is the solitary instance of a barred A I was able to find on any of the 264 coins reading EDWA, EDWAR, and EDWARD.

## DURHAM.

## I. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP BECK (1283-1310).

*Obv.*—⊕ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TKS DVR EME } . . 7

## II. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP KELLOW (1311-1316).

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*—[M.m.]<sup>28</sup> QIVI TKS DVN ELM } . 3

## III. WITH ORDINARY MINT-MARK.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TKS DVR EME } . . 1

## IV. WITH OBSCURE MINT-MARK.

Either I. or III. . . . . 5

## COINS WITH EDWAR R.

The 83 pennies reading EDWAR R exhibited much more variety. Although I failed to detect any satisfactory principles of classification, I incline to believe that, with a larger number of coins to work upon, there would be a good prospect of discovering such principles. A few indications which I did observe are shown in the list now to be given.

## LONDON.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TKS LON DON } . . 27

[Pl. IV. 11.]

Variety with LON DON . . . . 3

[Pl. IV. 12.]

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARR'R'ANGL'DNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TKS LON DON } : . 1

(Superior workmanship.)

<sup>28</sup> One end of the cross bent towards the left, so as to form a crozier



## BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB } . . . 10  
*Rev.*— VILL SQA DMV NDI }

*Obv.*—✠ EDWAR'R'ANGL'DNSHB<sup>27</sup> } . . . 2  
*Rev.*— VILL SQA DMV NDI }

(Superior workmanship.)

*Obv.*—✠ EDWAR · R · ANGLDNSHYB } . . . 2  
*Rev.*— VILL SQA DMV NDI }

## CANTERBURY.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB } . . . 24  
*Rev.*— QIVI TAS QAN }

Variety with TAN for TAS . . . 1

*Obv.*—✠ EDWAR'R'ANGL'DNSHYB' } . . . 1  
*Rev.*— QIVI TAS CAN TOR }

*Obv.*—✠ EDWAR'R'ANGL'DNSHYB' } . . . 2<sup>28</sup>  
*Rev.*— QIVI TAS QAN TOR }

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB : } . . . 1  
*Rev.*— QIVI TAS QAN TOR }

## DURHAM.

## I. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP KELLOW (1311-1316).

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRANGLDNSHYB } . . . 1  
*Rev.*—[M.m.]<sup>29</sup> QIVI TAS DVN QLM }

[Pl. IV. 13.]

<sup>27</sup> The tendency to ligature h and Y was apparent elsewhere in this group, but nowhere so distinct as on these two pieces.

<sup>28</sup> I find I have made no note as to the workmanship of these coins. Analogy with the corresponding pieces of London and Bury St. Edmund's would suggest that it must have been unusually good

<sup>29</sup> One end of the cross bent to the left, so as to form a crozier

## II. WITH MINT-MARK OF BISHOP BEAUMONT (1318-1333).

*Obv.*—[M.m.]<sup>30</sup> EDWARR'ANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TTS DVN ELM } . 7

## III. WITH ORDINARY MINT-MARK.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARR'ANGLDNSHYB }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TTS DVR EME } . 1

## COINS READING EDWARD R.

The six pennies reading EDWARD R were all of the London mint. They call for no special remark.

## LONDON.

*Obv.*—✠ EDWARRDR'ANGL'DNSHYB' }  
*Rev.*— QIVI TTS LON DON } . 2

[Pl. IV. 14.]

Variety with LON DON . . . 4

## COINS READING EDW REX.

I have reserved to the last the interesting little group reading EDW REX, because it is in connection with these that the non-English portion of the hoard can most appropriately be considered. We may begin with a description. It will be seen that no two of the three pennies are precisely alike.

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<sup>30</sup> A lion rampant left. On four of the specimens there were two fleurs-de-lis in the field before it; on two, there was one fleur-de-lis in front and one behind; on the remaining specimen only one fleur-de-lis was visible—in front. There was a horizontal stroke above the M on the reverses of several of the pieces.

## LONDON.

Obv.—✠ EDWREXTHGL'DNISHYB }  
 Rev.— CIVI TAS LON DON } . . . 1

[Pl. IV. 15.]

Variety with LON DON . . . . . 1

Variety with LON DON . . . . . 1

This class of coins is discussed in detail in the Balcombe report,<sup>31</sup> the conclusion arrived at being that it was issued very early in the reign of Edward III. The arguments by which that view is supported are certainly powerful. Coming from such an authoritative source, they render it difficult to maintain a contrary opinion. At the same time, after full consideration, I am bound to say that, in workmanship and lettering, the three specimens from Lochmaben showed far more affinity with Class A of the EDW R coins than with any of the later groups represented in the hoard. It may be that EDW REX pennies were issued at more than one period. It is certain that, so far as this particular find is concerned, the balance of evidence is in favour of attributing them to Edward I. The testimony of the Northampton hoard, as described by Neck,<sup>32</sup> tells even more strongly in the same direction. It may be useful to recapitulate it here.

Of the 195 Edward pennies found at Northampton, 192 read EDW R and 3 read EDW REX. Not one read EDWA R, EDWAR R, or EDWARD R. It is incredible that, in a chance collection of this kind, there should be a sprinkling of Edward III's pennies and

<sup>31</sup> *Num. Chron.*, Ser. III. vol. xviii. pp 8 ff

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii pp 108 ff.

absolutely no representation of the issues of Edward II. It might be replied that possibly the EDW R coins were all of the late type, now admitted to belong to Edward III. But Neck's report shows him to have been a careful observer. He was perfectly familiar with this late type—he speaks of it at length in the course of his paper—and he is not in the least likely to have confused it with the ordinary one. Further, while his descriptions do not go into minute detail, they are sufficiently full to make it clear that the great majority, if not the whole, of the EDW R coins from Northampton belonged to what I have called above "Class A." The forms of the letters show this plainly—the barred A, the open C and E, the reversed N were all common,—while on every one of the eight Bristol pieces the mint name was spelt with a double L. On the other hand, there is not a single example which can, with any reasonable probability, be assigned to "Class B." The inference is not to be resisted. The Northampton hoard was buried in the course of Edward I's reign, and it was by Edward I that the EDW REX pennies it contained were issued.

It remains to inquire whether the date of burial of the Lochmaben hoard could be approximately determined, and, if so, whether it is possible to deduce from that date any argument to support the evidence supplied by the lettering of the EDW REX pieces. We may reply to the latter question first. The answer is in the negative. The probable date of burial would cover either attribution. Leaving the EDW REX pennies out of account, and having regard only to the English coins, we find that the composition of the rest of the hoard compels us to accept the last years of Edward II as the earliest limit of possibility. The latest limit might conceivably be

extended to cover the very first years of Edward III but it could not with any show of reason be extended further, seeing that no certain coins of his reign were included.

The opinion just stated is fully borne out by the evidence of the non-English pieces, of which we have now to speak briefly. The Scottish long-cross pennies were nine in number, but they presented absolutely no feature of interest. All of them were very common varieties of the ordinary issues of Alexander III. There were five Irish pennies of Edward I, all minted at Dublin. They had the usual obverse type—the bust of the king facing, within a triangle, and with a dot or pellet on his breast. There were two varieties of legend.

• EDWR' ANGL'D NSHYB' •	}	• • •	4
CIVI TAS DVBL INIE			
EDWR' ANGL'D NSHYB' •	}	• • •	1 <sup>33</sup>
CIVI TAS DVBL INIE			

The twelve deniers esterlings are of more value from the point of view of dating. The following were the kings, princes, and bishops represented :—

Robert of Béthune (1305–1322)	
Mint of Alost (Chautard, Nos. 13 f)	2
John of Hainault (1280–1304)	
Mint of Mons (Chautard, No. 29)	1
John III. of Brabant (1312–1355)	
Mint of Brussels (Chautard, No. 112)	1
John the Blind (1309–1346)	
(Chautard, No. 185)	1
Guy de Collemède (1296–1306)	
Cambray (Chautard, Nos. 216 ff <sup>34</sup> )	1

<sup>33</sup> The closing of the  $\alpha$  was certain, that of the  $\alpha$  less so.

<sup>34</sup> The exact variety was not determinable.

Valéran II. of Ligny (1316–1354)				
Mint of Serain (Chautard, No. 237)	.	.	.	2
Gaucher of Porcien (1303–1329)				
Mint of Yves (Chautard, No. 241)	.	.	.	1
Mint of Neuf-Château (Chautard, No. 248)	.	.	.	2

It will be seen that the dates given above entirely confirm the suggestion that the hoard must have been buried in the latter part of Edward II's reign, or at the very beginning of the reign of Edward III. But there is still one foreign sterling to take account of. This was a piece similar to that described by Chautard as No 197,<sup>35</sup> and by him attributed to Thomas de Bourlemont, Bishop of Toul, from 1330–1353. It bears no name, however, and Chautard himself admits that the attribution is conjectural, although he prefers it to the proposal of Serrure, who would assign it to the time of Ferry IV, Duke of Lorraine (1312–1328). If Chautard be right, then our hoard cannot at the earliest have been buried before Edward III's fourth year. It is exceedingly difficult to reconcile this with the rest of the evidence, and especially with the fact that this particular coin was worn and corroded. If we are to judge the doubtful sterling by the company it keeps,—and, in the absence of a name, this is the only sure criterion,—we are compelled to say that, whether Serrure was right or not, Chautard was undoubtedly wrong. Our review of the whole set of coins thus fully justifies us in considering that the Lochmaben hoard was deposited in its resting-place within a period of three or four years on either side of 1325 A.D.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

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<sup>35</sup> *Imitations des Monnaies au type esterlin*, pp. 130 ff.

## VI.

### THE COINAGE OF HENRY IV.

(See Plate V.)

IN several of the earlier volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle* may be found papers and references to the coinage of Henry IV and to the connection between the coins of this king and those of his predecessor, Richard II, on the one hand, and his son and successor, Henry V, on the other. The summary of these papers is to be found in the last edition of Hawkins. The editor is careful to take all responsibility to himself where he differs from the authors of the original papers. The result of all this literature is the following classification. Henry IV coins are marked—

1. By a cross pattée mint-mark.
2. By a bust after the style of Richard II, *i.e.* the hair standing well out from the head, no separate side-lock of hair under the crown.
3. By a slipped trefoil as ornament.
4. By having the N in London Roman.
5. By the presence of the final *m* of the word *ADIVTORAM* in the groats.
6. By the pellets on the reverse usually being united.

In like manner coins of Henry V. are characterized as follows:—

1. By a plain or pierced cross mint-mark.

2. By a bust on which there is a distinct side-lock under the crown.

3. By a mullet, a quatrefoil, or by a broken annulet as ornaments.

4. By having the N in London in old English form.

5. By the omission of the final *m* of *ADIVTORÆM*.

6. By the pellets being usually distinct.

7. By being in certain cases of very coarse work.

The above classification has worked very fairly well for a number of years as regards Henry IV, but there are now known a number of coins which either bear no distinguishing marks at all, and yet must belong either to Henry IV or Henry V, or which bear marks on one side that are appropriated to Henry IV, and on the other side marks which would refer the coins to Henry V. Mr. Neck, indeed, in 1871 (*Num. Chron.*, New Ser. vol. xi. p. 93 f) has taken some trouble to point out these transitional coins, but gives it as his opinion that they must all be referred to very early years of Henry V. Since Mr. Neck's paper practically nothing further has been written on this section of English numismatics. That there are some grounds for a revision of this now thirty years' old paper is probable on account of the numerous examples of the so-called transitional coins which have been unearthed since that time. It will be necessary to touch on old ground, however, to make the new facts intelligible.

Henry IV came to the throne in 1399, and died in 1413, so that he reigned some thirteen years. Henry V followed him, and, dying in 1422, reigned nine years. Richard II, who preceded Henry IV, reigned from 1377 to 1399, twenty-two years. For the present only the silver coins, and chiefly the groats, will be referred to.



Hawkins says, and perhaps quite correctly, in describing the groats of Richard II, "There are three distinct styles of head of Richard II, one like that of Edward III, another like that of Henry IV, and one intermediate." The very early Edward III like head on these Richard groats does not concern the arguments put forth in this paper, and may therefore be passed over. The other two heads, however, are worthy of more attention, and are illustrated in PL. V. 1, 2.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that No. 2 is still an Edwardian head, and has been treated in much the same manner as those heads on the latest Edward III groats. The same sort of crown is visible, and the hair very much resembles that of Edward III. The fleuring of the arches is in the same style too. The head on No. 1 is quite different; the bust is longer and narrower; the crown is wider from side to side, and not so high, and projects even beyond the hair; and the face is much thinner. Besides these differences in the bust, there are many other variations in the general treatment of these two groats of Richard II. The lettering is different, notably the N's in London. On the earlier coin the *serifs* are square and the marks of contraction plain. On the later coin an ornamental indentation is to be found. Of these two pieces the second is an extremely rare coin, and hardly ever to be found in good condition.

Now, this description of the third bust of Richard II accurately applies to the bust found on the majority of coins now attributed to Henry IV, but the coins of Henry with this bust are relatively numerous as compared with those bearing Richard's name. Besides these pieces with the name of Henry and with Richard's latest bust, there are

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<sup>1</sup> No. 1 is a late groat of Richard II, and No. 2 is an early groat of Henry IV with a bust of Richard II, earlier than No. 1.

a few of exceeding rarity bearing the earlier bust of Richard II. All these Henry groats bear characteristics mentioned at the beginning of this paper. They all have a slipped trefoil somewhere on the coin, a cross pattée for mint-mark, the Roman N in London, and read  $\Lambda$ DIUTORÆM. They are all admitted coins of Henry IV. An example is shown on Pl. V. 3. No. 2 is an example of the greatest rarity with Richard II's earlier head, and not only has it this bust, but the obverse, at any rate, is struck from a die of Richard II, in which the name HÆNRIC is engraved over RICHARD. A pellet has, however, been added at one side of the crown, and an annulet at the other. The weight of the piece is just upon 60 grains, and it is but little worn. The coin next in the plate, No. 3, is a representation of the second variety of Henry IV's groat with Richard II's third bust. The first fact, therefore, in connection with these coins is that the admitted groats of Henry IV bear the bust of Richard II. The next point that must be considered is their weight. Edward III and his successor, Richard II, issued money at the weight of 72 grains to the groat. Henry IV followed their example, and later in his reign altered the weight to 60 grains. Hawkins gives the date as in Henry's thirteenth year. In describing the so-called heavy groat Hawkins refers to pictures in Ruding and Snelling, and then, following writers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, proceeds to throw doubt on the genuineness of the coins, supposing the pictures to be accurate. In throwing this doubt, these writers were in all probability correct. At any rate, the existence of a 72-grain groat of Henry IV is still open to doubt. According to the hitherto accepted descriptions of Henry IV's groats, all these must be placed to his thirteenth year. If this proposition be

true, a great difficulty is introduced, which probably cannot be explained. All Henry IV's groats bear Richard II's head. Some have been struck from Richard II's dies, and yet their weight shows that they cannot have been struck before his thirteenth year. Clearly all this cannot be correct, but supposing for one moment that it is so, a still more glaring difficulty comes to light, in the impossibility to account for specimens of the coinages of the thirteen previous years. A possible answer to this last point may clear the way for removing many of these anomalies. Either Henry did not strike coins during his first thirteen years, or the produce of such coinage is now lost. It is not necessary to consider these two alternatives at any length, as every student of English numismatics knows that there never was a period of thirteen years during which the mint practically yielded nothing, and again that, as there must have been a coinage during this period, some specimens must have come down to modern times. They are therefore not lost. If not lost, then the question may be asked, where are they? The answer obviously is that they are mixed up with other coins. One object of this paper is to show some of these issues. Again, before doing so, one or two more topics must be touched upon as bearing on this coinage. Any reader taking up Hawkin's *Silver Coins of England* will there be informed that no coins can be precisely given to the first quarter of a century of Edward III's reign, notwithstanding the fact that Hawkins himself quotes dates within this period during which, according to indentures, alterations were made in their weight. It may be asked what has become of these coinages, were coins never struck, or are they lost? The answer given before applies precisely here.

Coins were struck, and have not been lost. In this case it has been shown that these early Edward III coins have previously been mixed up with coins of Edward I and II. Here, then, indentures were extant, and coins had to be found which would furnish the necessary characteristics. The next reign to be considered is that of the young king, Edward V. His coins are well known and beyond dispute, yet there is no indenture to account for the striking of them. This is the opposite of what occurred in Edward III's early years. The coins exist, but no indenture. Now, if these two facts are applied to the elucidation of those dark thirteen years of Henry IV, it is wonderful how easily the difficulties can be solved. If we suppose that the alteration in weight took place quite early in the reign of Henry IV, and that no indenture can now be found ordering this provision, we can then account for (1) the great rarity of the heavy coinage; (2) the reason for the continuance of Richard II's bust;<sup>2</sup> and (3) the comparative frequency of these light coins.

The acceptance of this view of the matter naturally introduces one difficulty in the way, *viz.* that it places a hiatus between the coins of Henry IV and those of Henry V; but the filling up of this space with coins previously called transitional is more or less simple and natural. Besides this, some coins will be taken from Henry V and added to Henry IV, so that, although those of Henry V, who reigned only nine years, will still outnumber those of his father, who reigned fourteen years, there will not be quite the same disparity as hitherto.

A careful examination of the accompanying list discloses

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<sup>2</sup> The same may be noted in the early years of Edward IV, when the earliest light groat is struck from dies for the heavy coinage.

many points of interest. The list is arranged to show the relationship of the coins to each other rather than to demonstrate the actual chronological order of issue. Thus groat No. 4 is probably nearly contemporary with groat No. 2, but it is not placed next to No. 2 because No. 3 bears the identical obverse of No. 2, and yet has a reverse of No. 4 work. The connection of these coins is not analogous to the connection of coins such as Edward IV's, where three coins are connected by two mint-marks, the middle one bearing both, and thus being a link between the other two. The work of No. 2 obverse and reverse is the same, and the remark applies to No. 4. The obverses and reverses, therefore, of these two coins must have been made for each other, but the obverse and reverse of No. 3 were certainly not made to produce groat No. 3, therefore it is later than No. 2, and probably later than No. 4. No. 2, however, bears an early head, and therefore No. 3 cannot be a late coin, and for the same reason No. 4 must be classed as an early piece.

In much the same way groats Nos. 6 and 7 are connected, and also Nos. 8 and 9. These pieces must be nearly contemporary, because on one side they are from identical dies. The head on No. 8 is an early head, and therefore No. 9 cannot be a very late coin. If it be admitted that these coins, from identical dies one side or the other, were issued within a short period of each other, and also that the head appearing on the earliest of them is really a head of Richard II, the only conclusion that can follow is that these must be coins of Henry IV. Additional reasons pointing in the same direction may also be given. If a new king wishes to alter his coin, the obverse would naturally be the side to treat first, as it is the more "kingly" side. In the

list, however, it will be noticed that the reverses are in the larger variety. Thus the idea put forward by Hawkins, following Mr. Neck, can be shown to be of very little value, as the new reverse would not be joined to an old obverse, if Henry V were the author, but the other way round. Of course, the whole argument fails, as the list here given shows that obverses and reverses were joined quite indiscriminately. One coin bears an old obverse with a new reverse, and the next has the obverse belonging to the new reverse, which again is attached to another reverse. If these coins, then, are to be considered as having been issued by Henry IV, the marks on some of them cannot have been introduced by Henry V and used exclusively on his coinage, and therefore the two descriptive paragraphs at the commencement of this paper require amending. The features given to the coins of Henry IV still hold; all coins with those characteristics are still to be considered as Henry IV's, but early ones.

With Henry V, however, the case is different.

The plain cross and the cross with an annulet in the middle of it have both been shown to exist on what is otherwise a coin of Henry IV (see Nos. 3, 4, 5). The bust with side-locks also shares the fate of the mint-mark as it appears on Nos. 7, 10, 11. The mullet on the shoulder on No. 9, a typical obverse of Henry IV, and the quatrefoil after POSVI on No. 3, also remove these marks from belonging exclusively to Henry V.

In like manner the absence in ADIVTOREM of the final *m*, the presence of the Lombardic *n* in London, and the separation of the pellets from each other in the angles of the cross, can no longer be held as signs separating the coinage of Henry IV from that of his son, Henry V.

Two points only still remain to be mentioned, viz. the broken annulet and the coarse work. With regard to the broken annulet, one difficulty exists in the circumstance that the mark is frequently blundered in the striking, and thus a really unbroken circle often appears as a broken one. If the half-groat figured by Mr. Neck in *Num. Chron.*, New. Ser. vol. xi. pl. iii., has really a broken annulet, then this mark was probably used by both kings, as that half-groat has an early Henry IV reverse; and again, the same remark holds in reference to a noble of Henry IV, a heavy coin of 119 grains described in the Montagu sale catalogue (pt. 2, pl. iii., No. 475). If the annulet is truly broken, then it is of no use as a decisive mark.

All the marks hitherto said to characterize the coinage of Henry V have thus been shown to be present on some coin or coins bearing besides them features which would more reasonably assign them to his father. In the failure, therefore, of these marks, it is necessary to find some other method of distinction between the coinage of Henry IV and Henry V. Hitherto it has been the custom to refer to the "mullet marked" groat as of the first coinage of Henry V. This coin has all the characteristics of the coinage of Henry V, as pointed out in an early paragraph of this paper. There is a mullet on the shoulder, a quatrefoil after *HENRIC*, another after *POSVI*; the reading is *ADIVTORÆ*; the *n*'s in *LONDON* are Lombardic, and lastly, and of more importance by far than any other feature, the coin is of coarse work. Some definition of coarse work should be attempted if it is to be adopted as a criterion, and possibly the only criterion, of Henry V's early coinage. It is easy enough at a glance to appreciate at once the

difference between this style of workmanship and that which is called the finer work preceding it. It is much more difficult to display this difference in words that would convey an intelligible meaning to the reader. It may be noticed that on most coins with an inner or an outer dotted circle these circles are composed of minute dots more or less coalescing. On the coarse-work coins these dots are fewer and larger, and each dot is distinct from its neighbours. On looking at an ordinary coin the dotted inner circle simply conveys to the eye the sensation of a circle, but on the coarse-work coins, in addition, a sensation of individual dots. The lettering, too, shows a difference of treatment. Though of the same shape and style, the strokes are much thicker; the pellets on the reverse are also larger, and the large cross dividing the coin is much more spread. Owing to these differences much less plain ground is visible on these coins than on those which preceded and succeed them. On the groats of this issue, of coarse work, a mullet is found on the left shoulder, a quatrefoil (not a stop) occurs after *hēNRIC*, and another after *POSVI*. The arch on the breast is fleured, but not those above the crown, and *ANGLIÆ* is a constant reading. The half-groats and smaller coins exhibit the same sort of work. Mullets, trefoils of three pellets (not resembling the typical slipped trefoils of Henry IV), and broken annulets appear on these pieces. They are the coins described by Hawkins, following Mr. Neck, as Class II under Henry V. There seems no reason to remove this large class from Henry V, and the coarse work certainly differentiates it from the earlier pieces. The class as a whole seems to have more affinities and connections with the annulet coinage of Calais and London than with the coins



described before. It is hoped, therefore, that in this coarse-work coinage may be found the true distinction between coins of Henry IV and those of his son. It may be worth while to point out that gold nobles, half nobles and quarter nobles are known of coarse work, as well as all varieties of the silver coins down to the farthing. They all bear either a plain cross with ends voided or a pierced one, and are generally marked with a mullet, quatrefoil, broken annulet, or trefoil of dots. The coinage is followed by one of finer work, both in gold and silver. The silver coins are characterized by an annulet in the centre of two groups of pellets on the reverse, by an annulet after POSVI, and by the reading ANGLIÆ, which connects it with the coarse-work coinage. London and Calais were both minting-places of this coinage.

It is necessary to point out in conclusion that the appended list does not purport to be a complete one of the coins of Henry IV. As many examples as possible of the transitional coins have been obtained and described, and illustrations are given to show clearly their early origin, and to bear out the suggestion of placing them to their proper date. The smaller coins have not been illustrated. They follow on the larger ones, and the same arguments hold for all of them.


## DESCRIPTIONS OF COINS.

### GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIC ꝥ DEI ꝥ GRAT ꝥ REX ꝥ ANGLIÆ. Head in a tressure of nine arches, all fleured; annulet to right, pellet to left side of crown.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI † DEVM ✕ ADIVTORAM ✕ MAM ✕ CIVITAS  
LONDON. The usual cross and pellets, the  
latter united; slipped trefoil after POSVI.  
Wt. 60 grs. [Pl. V. 2.]


This coin has been struck from an obverse die of Richard II, and it will be observed that part of Richard's name and the mark of contraction after the final D are still visible on the coin. The obverse does not present the slipped trefoil unless the object on the breast is taken to represent this. The obverse mint-mark is the typical cross-pattée of the earlier kings. On the reverse the mint-mark is only very slightly pattée.

2. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIQ' ✕ DI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ ANGLIA ✕  ✕  
FRANQ. Pellet above and to left of crown,  
another to right side of crown; all the arches  
fleured; slipped trefoil on breast.


*Rev.*—✠ POSVI DEVM ✕ ADIVTORAM ✕ MAM CIVITAS ✕  
LONDON. Pellets united; slipped trefoil after  
POSVI; the cross mint-mark on both faces only  
slightly pattée. [Pl. V. 3.]

3. *Obv.*—From same die as last.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ✠ DEVM ✕ ADIVTORA ✕ MAM CIVITAS ✕  
LONDON ✕ The mint-mark is a cross-pattée  
with an annulet in the centre; there is a  
quatrefoil after POSVI; the n's in LONDON  
are Lombardic, not Roman, and have a foot  
from the front stroke pointing backwards;  
the pellets are not united; all the lettering  
is stunted and flattened. [Pl. V. 4.]

4. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIQ ✠ DI GRA REX ANGLIA  FRANQ. A  
curious, broad, flat bust; quatrefoil after  
HENRIQ; all the arches fleured; mint-mark  
cross rather pattée.


*Rev.*—As the last, but not from the same die; the lettering on both sides is the same as that on the reverse of the last one, viz. flattened and stunted.

5. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRIC ✠ DI ✠ GRÆ ✠ REX ✠ ANGLIÆ ✠  ✠ FRÆNÇ. Same peculiar bust and lettering; quatrefoil after hēNRIC; all the arches fleured.

*Rev.*—† POSVI ✠ DÆVM ✠ ADIVTORÆ ✠ MÆVM CIVITAS ✠ LONDON ✠ No quatrefoil after POSVI. The lettering not stunted. [Pl. V. 5.]

6. *Obv.*—From same die as No. 5.


*Rev.*—✠ POSVI DÆVM ✠ ADIVTORÆ ✠ MÆVM CIVITAS ✠ LONDON ✠ Same mint-mark as No. 3; letters as No. 5. [Pl. V. 6.]

7. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRIC ✠ DI ✠ GRÆ ✠ REX ✠ ANGLIÆ ✠  ✠ FRÆNÇ Bust with side-locks; arches above crown not fleured; no peculiar marks.

*Rev.*—From same die as No. 6.

8. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 7.

*Rev.*—As No. 7, but not from the same die.

9. *Obv.*—† hēNRIC ✠ DI ✠ GRÆ ✠ REX ✠ ANGLIÆ ✠  ✠ FRÆNÇ + Bust as on that of Richard II's latest coinage; mullet on left shoulder; slipped trefoil on breast and at end of legend; arches of treasure fleured; lettering small, as on the early groats of Henry IV; mint-mark as on Nos. 1 and 2.

*Rev.*—† POSVI ✠ DÆVM ✠ ADIVTORÆ ✠ MÆVM CIVITAS ✠ LONDON ✠ No quatrefoil after POSVI; work as on reverse of No. 5. [Pl. V. 7.]

- 10 *Obv.*—✠  $\text{HENRIQ} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GRA} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FRANQ}$ .  
Bust with small side-locks; all arches fleured;  
no peculiar marks.

*Rev.*—From same die as No. 9. [Pl. V. 8.]

11. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{HENRIQ} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GRA} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FRANQ}$ .  
Bust without side-locks; mullet on left  
shoulder; all arches fleured.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{POSVI DEVM} \cdot \text{ADIVTORA} \cdot \text{MAVM CIVITAS} \cdot$   
 $\text{LON} : \text{DON} :$  Stops not in saltire. [Pl.  
V. 12.]

12. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{HENRIQ} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GRA} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FRANQ}$ .  
Bust with small side-locks; crown  
arches not fleured.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{POSVI DEVM} \times \text{ADIVTORA} \times \text{MAVM CIVITAS} \times$   
 $\text{LONDON} \times$  No peculiar marks either side;  
work as on reverse of Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10. [Pl.  
V. 10.]

13. *Obv.*—From same die as No. 12.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 12, but not from the same die.

14. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{HENRIQ} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GRA} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FRANQ}$ .  
Quatrefoil after  $\text{HENRIQ}$ ; bust with  
side-locks; crown arches not fleured.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{POSVI DEVM} \times \text{ADIVTORA} \times \text{MAVM CIVITAS}$   
 $\text{LONDON} \times$

15. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{HENRIQ} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GRA} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FRANQ}$ .  
Bust with small side-locks; mullet on breast;  
crown arches not fleured.

*Rev.*—✠  $\text{POSVI} + \text{DEVM} \times \text{ADIVTORA} \times \text{MAVM CIVITAS} \times$   
 $\text{LONDON} \times$  Cross, not quatrefoil, after  $\text{POSVI}$ ;  
work as No. 14. [Pl. V. 9.]

16. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 15.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 15, but mark after POSVI more like a slipped trefoil; the work also is in the style of Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

17. *Obv.*—+ hēNRID ✧ DI'x GRN x REX x ANGLIA x S x FRAND'. Quatrefoil after hēNRID; bust with side-locks; crown arches not fleured; lettering something like Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

*Rev.*—+ POSVI ✧ DEVM x ADIVTORA x MADM CIVITAS x LONDON x Quatrefoil after POSVI, ordinary fine work.

18. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 17.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 17, but from another die.

19. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 17.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 17, but from again another die.

20. *Obv.*—✧ hēNRID x DI'x GRN x REX x ANGLIA x S x FRAND'x Crown arches not fleured.

*Rev.*—Same mint-mark. Work and legends as No. 19, but no mark after POSVI. [Pl. V. 11.]

21. *Obv.*—As No. 20, but quatrefoil after hēNRID, and no mark after FRAND'.


*Rev.*—As No. 20, but quatrefoil after POSVI.

22. *Obv.*—+ hēNRID'x DI'x GRN'x REX x ANGL'x S x FRAND'. No quatrefoil after hēNRID; the reading ANGL is new.


*Rev.*—Same mint-mark. As last, but from a different die.

23. *Obv.*—✧ (cross with annulet). As No. 21; arch on breast fleured; work approaching in coarseness the later mullet-marked groat.

*Rev.*—As last, except for the coarse work like the obverse.


24. *Obv.*—† hēnriā di grā rāx ānēliā  frānā. Bust with side-locks; crown arches not fleured; mullet on shoulder; stops not noted.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ❖ dēvm ꝥ ādivtorē × māvm āivitās × LONDON ꝥ Quatrefoil after POSVI; fine work both sides.

25. *Obv.*—✠ hēnriā × di × grā rāx × ānēliā ×  × frānā. Bust with side-locks; arches above crown not fleured; fine work.

*Rev.*—† POSVI ❖ dēvm ꝥ ādivtorē × māvm āivitās LONDON. Quatrefoil after POSVI; coarse work.

#### HALF-GROAT.

*Obv.*—✠ hēnriā × di × grā × rāx × ānēl  F. Bust like Richard II's; all arches fleured.

*Rev.*—Same mint-mark. POSVI dēvm ādivtorēm × māvm āivitās LONDON.

#### PENNIES (LIGHT).

##### *London.*

1. *Obv.*—✠ hēnriā' × rāx ꝥ ānēliā. Bust of Richard II. Annulet to right, pellet to left of crown.

*Rev.*—āivitās LONDON. Slipped trefoil before LON. Pellets united.

2. *Obv.*—✠ hēnri . . . . . rāx × ānēl. Same bust, with annulet and pellet at sides of crown.

*Rev.*—āivitās LONDON.

This coin is much clipped, but it must read DI GRā, as there is too much room for any other legend, such as hēnriāvs.

3. *Obv.*—✠ hēnRiQ' × DI × GRN × REX × ANGL × Bust with slight side-locks, annulet to right, pellet to left of crown, work as on groats Nos. 3, 4, and 5, viz, stunted letters. The mint-mark is from the same broken puncheon as that used to produce the mint-mark on the reverse of groat No. 3.

*Rev.*—QIVI TNS °LONDON. A small annulet after TNS and another before LON. The work is the same as the obverse.

*Durham.*

*Obv.*—✠ hēnRiQVS × REX × ANGLIÆ. Bust of Henry IV, slipped trefoil on breast.

*Rev.*—QIVITNS DVNVIÆ.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

## VII.

### A FIND OF COINS AT OSWESTRY.

ON Thursday, November 24, 1904, as some workmen were making a new street, one of them struck his pick into an earthenware pot and scattered a number of coins, which were scrambled for by the six or seven men who were working together. They sold most of them within a day or two, chiefly to a local draper and to the foreman of a silversmith's shop in the town, but the police got to hear of it almost at once, and succeeded in recovering most of them. Altogether, 401 silver coins and 4 gold ones were recovered, and at the inquest held by the coroner on December 15 they were declared to be treasure-trove, and accordingly were sent to the Treasury. At the inquest the workmen stated that they counted the coins and found 407, besides a few which they threw away as worthless, and that one of them hid the pot in a hedge close at hand, but on going back to look for it on the Monday he could not find it or any part of it. He said it was of a size "to hold three half-pints," was made of dark glazed earthenware, had a handle, but no cover, and was wide in the middle but narrow at the top. It was found about two feet below the surface, in a field belonging to Mr. Wilding Jones, about a yard from the hedgerow which divides the field from Brynhafod Lane. There were no traces of any buildings near. The place is within the borough, but



outside the line of the old walls. The workmen spoke positively to six gold coins, and only four have been recovered; but if their statements are to be relied on, the whole hoard did not contain many more than 407 coins, and 405 of these have been recovered. One of the men distributed several of the coins as presents to his lady friends, and made holes in them for suspension, which accounts for the fact that three or four of those recovered are holed. The workmen cleaned many and broke one or two.

The following is a list of the coins recovered, arranged according to Hawkins:—

## SILVER COINS.

## HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII.		No	Total.
Base groat, reading Posui . . . . .	1		
			1

## EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI.									
Sixpence, illegible	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	1	
„ MM ton	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	1	
									2

MARY.

MARY.						
Groat, reading Veritas, etc..	.	.	.	.	.	21
" illegible	.	.	.	.	.	2
Half-groat, illegible	.	.	.	.	.	5
						28

PHILIP AND MARY.

PHILIP AND MARY.											
Shilling	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	1	
Groat	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	7	
											8

ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH.				
Shilling, MM martlet, Ang Fra et Hi .	.	.	.	1
" " " Ang Fr et Hib .	.	.	.	2

ELIZABETH—*continued.*

	No.	Total.
Shilling, MM martlet, An Fr et Hi . . . . .	2	
" " cross crosslet, Ang Fr et Hib . . . . .	1	
" " " " Ang Fr et Hi . . . . .	1	
" " " " An Fr et Hib . . . . .	1	
" " bell . . . . .	1	
" " A . . . . .	5	
" " scallop . . . . .	1	
" " crescent . . . . .	2	
" " hand, Hi . . . . .	1	
" " " Hib . . . . .	1	
" " ton . . . . .	3	
" " woolpack . . . . .	2	
" " l. . . . .	3	
		27
Sixpence, illegible . . . . .	11	
" MM pheon, 1561 . . . . .	6	
" " " 1564 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1565 . . . . .	2	
" " " illegible . . . . .	8	
" " rose, 1565 . . . . .	2	
" " portcullis, 1566 . . . . .	5	
" " lion (?), 1566 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1567 . . . . .	1	
" " coronet, 1567 . . . . .	6	
" " " 1568 . . . . .	6	
" " " 1569 . . . . .	7	
" " " 1570 . . . . .	2	
" " castle, 1570 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1571 . . . . .	6	
" " ermine, 1572 . . . . .	11	
" " " 1573 . . . . .	2	
" " acorn, 1573 . . . . .	3	
" " doubtful, 1573 . . . . .	1	
" " cinquefoil, 1574 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1575 . . . . .	4	
" " " 1576 . . . . .	2	
" " cross, 1577 . . . . .	1	
" " " 1578 . . . . .	11	
" " " 1579 . . . . .	1	
" " " 1580 . . . . .	3	
" " " 1581 . . . . .	3	
" " sword, 1582 . . . . .	6	
" " bell, 1583 . . . . .	2	
" " A, 1583 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1584 . . . . .	2	
" " scallop, 1585 . . . . .	6	
" " crescent, 1587 . . . . .	1	
" " " 1588 . . . . .	1	
" " hand, 1590 . . . . .	1	
" " ton, 1592 . . . . .	2	
" " " 1593 . . . . .	6	
" " woolpack, 1594 . . . . .	3	
" " " 1595 . . . . .	1	
" " key, 1596 . . . . .	3	

ELIZABETH—*continued*.

	No	Total.
Sixpence, MM anchor, 1598 . . . . .	1	
„ „ 1, 1601 . . . . .	1	
„ „ 2, 1602 . . . . .	3	
		153
Groat, MM lis . . . . .	1	
„ illegible . . . . .	9	
		10
Threepence, MM pheon (?) . . . . .	1	
„ „ castle (?) . . . . .	1	
„ 1570 . . . . .	2	
„ 1572 . . . . .	1	
„ illegible . . . . .	14	
		19
JAMES I.		
Half-crown, Scotch, MM thistle, Quae Deus . . . . .	1	
		1
Shilling, Exurgat, MM thistle . . . . .	7	
„ „ „ lis . . . . .	7	
„ Quae Deus „ „ . . . . .	3	
„ „ „ rose . . . . .	6	
„ „ „ coronet . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ thistle (later) . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ lis (later) . . . . .	1	
„ Irish, Exurgat, MM bell . . . . .	3	
„ „ Henricus rosas, MM large rose . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ „ martlet . . . . .	1	
		31
Sixpence, Exurgat, MM thistle, 1603 . . . . .	4	
„ „ „ „ 1604 . . . . .	3	
„ Quae Deus, MM thistle, 1604 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ lis, 1604 . . . . .	2	
„ „ „ „ 1605 . . . . .	4	
„ „ „ rose, 1605 . . . . .	3	
„ „ „ scallop, 1606 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ grapes, 1607 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ coronet, 1607 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ „ 1608 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ key, 1609 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ trefoil slipped, 1613 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ thistle, 1621 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ „ 1622 . . . . .	1	
„ „ „ lis, 1623 . . . . .	1	
„ Irish, Tueatur . . . . .	1	
		27

CHARLES I						No	Total.
TOWER MINT.							
Half-crown, MM portcullis, 1633, type 2c, Mag Br Fr et Hi . . . . .						2	
" " portcullis, 1633, type 2c, Mag Br Fr et Hib . . . . .						1	
" " bell, 1634, type 3a . . . . .						1	
" " crown, 1635 " Mag Bri Fr et Hib . . . . .						1	
" " " " Ma Br Fr et Hi . . . . .						1	
" " ton, 1636 " . . . . .						2	
" " star, 1640, type 4 . . . . .						1	
" " triangle in circle, 1641, type 4, Mag Bri Fra et Hib . . . . .						1	
" " triangle in circle, 1641, type 4, Mag Bri Fra et Hi . . . . .						2	
							12
Shilling, MM lis, 1625, type 1 . . . . .						1	
" " castle, 1627, type 1a, Hib . . . . .						1	
" " castle (?), 1627, type 1b . . . . .						1	
" " harp, 1632, type 3 . . . . .						1	
" " portcullis, 1633, type 3 . . . . .						2	
" " bell, 1634, type 3a . . . . .						5	
" " crown, 1635, type 3a, Hi . . . . .						3	
" " " " Hib . . . . .						1	
" " ton, 1636 " . . . . .						5	
" " upright anchor, 1638, type 4 . . . . .						2	
" " prostrate anchor, 1638, " . . . . .						5	
" " triangle, 1639, type 4, Bri Fra et Hi . . . . .						3	
" " " " Hib . . . . .						6	
" " " " Brit Fra et Hib . . . . .						1	
" " " " Br Fr et Hib . . . . .						1	
" " star, 1640, type 4 . . . . .						8	
" " triangle in circle, 1641, type 4 . . . . .						6	
" " anchor and B (Briot), 1638 . . . . .						1	
							53
Sixpence, MM cross on steps, 1626, type 1a . . . . .						1	
" " obv. doubtful; rev. upright anchor, 1629, type 1a . . . . .						1	
" " rose, 1631, type 2a . . . . .						1	
" " portcullis, 1632, type 3 . . . . .						1	
" " bell, 1634, type 3a . . . . .						2	
" " crown, 1635 " . . . . .						2	
" " ton, 1636 " . . . . .						8	
" " anchor, 1638, type 4 . . . . .						3	
" " triangle, 1639, " Hi . . . . .						1	
" " " " Hib . . . . .						2	
" " star, 1640 " . . . . .						4	
" " triangle in circle (?), 1641 . . . . .						1	

## ABERYSTWITH MINT.

Shilling, MM open book, inner circle on *rev*, not on *obv*.

No	Total
1	

## SHEREWSBURY MINT.

Half-crown, Hawkins No 2 . . . . .

	1
1	
	1

## GOLD COINS.

James I. Unite (20s.), MM lis, 1604-5.

,, Laurel (20s.), MM lis, 1623-4, reading Hi.

,, Britain Crown (5s.), MM coronet, reads Jacobus.

Charles I. Ten shillings, type 3, MM doubtful, perhaps triangle in circle.

The characteristics of this hoard are exactly like those of the much larger one found at East Worlington, Devonshire, in 1895, and described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1897, p. 145, by Mr. Grueber. The pieces earlier than Queen Elizabeth are almost undecipherable. The illegible half-groats, attributed above to Mary may perhaps be of Elizabeth. It is curious that even in this smaller hoard almost every one of the mint-marks of Elizabeth's hammered coins should be represented, the only ones absent being the lis (1560) and O (1600). There are no milled coins. As they had all been in circulation for forty years before they were buried, they are naturally in poor preservation, and the only coin of this reign that calls for any remark is a shilling MM hand, which reads HI instead of the usual HIB. Of the 401 silver coins in the hoard, 248 are of the reign of Elizabeth, or earlier. Of 5188 in the East Worlington hoard, which was buried in 1646, there were 2245 of Elizabeth, or earlier; and of 1884 found at Crediton in 1897, which were not hidden till after 1683, 801 were of

Elizabeth, or earlier (*Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 159). We may conclude, therefore, that at the end of the reign of Charles I half the silver currency of the country still consisted of coins of Elizabeth.

Of the coins of James I, the laurel, MM lis, differs from those described in Kenyon's Gold Coins in reading HI instead of HIB; and the MM coronet is not mentioned as occurring on a Britain Crown, but Mr. Montagu describes it in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887, p. 342. The present specimen is double-struck and blundered. The Scotch half-crown is as Rud. 41, 2, and seems not to be a common coin. The shilling with coronet MM has the earlier head, with which this MM is not mentioned in Hawkins; neither is the "Quæ Deus" sixpence MM thistle of 1604.

Of the coins of Charles I, the ten-shilling piece is clipped and worn or filed, but the MM seems to be a triangle in circle, which is not mentioned in Kenyon's gold coins as occurring on a ten-shilling-piece. It reads BRI FRA ET HIB. The following silver coins show new varieties of legend: half-crown, MM crown, HI; shilling, MM castle, HIB; MM crown, HIB; MM triangle, BRIT · FRA · ET HIB (mis-struck); BR · FR · ET HIB. The sixpence, 1629, MM on *rev.* anchor, is not given in Hawkins; this piece reads MAG BRI FR ET HIB. The sixpence MM rose, type 2a (without plume over shield), is not given in Hawkins; and the reading HIB on that with MM triangle is a variety. There are no coins of James I or Charles I of a smaller denomination than the sixpence, and there were none in either the East Worlington or Crediton hoard; neither were there any silver crowns.

The latest coin in this hoard is the Shrewsbury half-

crown. These pieces were first issued October 21, 1642, and the mint was removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford at the end of December, 1642. The latest struck of the other coins are those with MM triangle in circle, 1641. Therefore this hoard was probably buried early in 1643. As the mint which came to Shrewsbury in October was that from Aberystwith, the Aberystwith shilling in this hoard was very likely brought to Shrewsbury with it; and both coins are likely to have been issued at the same time as pay to the king's troops in Shrewsbury. Early in 1643 Lord Capel was made lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Shropshire and other counties, fixed his headquarters in Shrewsbury, and went with 1000 horse to Oswestry, eighteen miles from Shrewsbury, where he told the inhabitants that they must entrench and strengthen the town. This was done, and many houses outside the walls, and part of the Church, were pulled down for military reasons. In August a parliamentary force was sent into Shropshire under Colonel Myddleton, which in September captured Wem. There is no record of actual fighting at Oswestry in 1643, but in the early part of that year there was much military communication between Shrewsbury and Oswestry, and there must have been much going to and fro. The presence of the Shrewsbury and Aberystwith pieces in this Oswestry hoard suggests that it may have been brought from Shrewsbury to Oswestry at the beginning of 1643 by some one in the king's service, either as being his own private property or for the purpose of paying some of the troops in Oswestry; and if the owner was suddenly called away, as many men must have been at this time, on the king's service, it may well have seemed the safest course to bury such money as he did not immediately

require, and to tell no one of the place. Any small change he may have possessed he would be likely to keep with him, and this would be enough to account for the absence of coins of small denomination from the hoard. The receptacle has been unfortunately lost, but was probably the first earthenware household jar of suitable size which came to hand.

R. LL. KENYON.



## MISCELLANEA.

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NOTE ON SOME COINS OF WILLIAM II IN THE ROYAL MINT MUSEUM.—Among the coins of William II in the Royal Mint Museum is one by Swetman, of Oxford, which offers some points of interest. This moneyer is noted in the tables appended to the late Mr. Spicer's paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Series IV. vol. iv. pp. 255-287) as having struck coins at Oxford, corresponding in type to Hawkins' figures, Nos. 241 and 249. The coin in the Mint collection bears on the obverse a full-faced bust with sword in the right hand, and reads PILLELM REX, while on the reverse is a cross pattée pierced, within a quatrefoil, the inscription being SPETMAN ON OXN (Hawkins' No. 246); it thus gives a new moneyer to this type.

An examination of the reverse legend of this coin shows a feature worth consideration. The letters which form the moneyer's name (SPETMAN) are seen to be in a totally different style from those on the obverse, and also from those that conclude the reverse inscription (ON OXN). The latter letters are of the usual character with heavy and broad down-strokes. The moneyer's name, however, is composed of irregular and attenuated letters of the "wire" variety. In explanation of this striking difference in style, it is suggested that an alteration of the moneyer's name was made in the die by a person inexperienced in the engraver's art, probably using for his purpose tools other than those usually employed in cutting the letters. Such an alteration could be effected by softening the die, hammering down the part where the intended erasure was to be made, and putting in new letters with a cutting tool. In this instance, besides inferior workmanship, there was evidently a want of experience in evenly spacing the letters, for the last three (MAN) are unduly spread out in order to fill the interval between the T and the O.

Whether this particular alteration was authorized or not, and whether it was made in London or in Oxford is uncertain. Swetman is mentioned in the Domesday Book among the tenants *in capite* at Oxford as *monetarius* (*Num. Chron.* Series IV. vol. i. p. 384), and coins of other types by him are extant. Whatever may have been the reason in this case, the renewal of old dies was no doubt of frequent occurrence. It is known that the cuneator in London claimed the old and

broken dies as his perquisite, and it seems highly probable that, when not returned cracked across the face, or too short in the shank for further use,<sup>1</sup> they were softened and re-engraved, the labour and expense of new forgings being avoided by this means. If, through imperfect erasure, the first design was not entirely obliterated before the second design was engraved, some of the original outlines would be transmitted to the coins struck from that die, and while such faint marks on the die might well escape both the engraver and the moneyer of that day, they are easily discerned on the coins by the powerful lens of the modern numismatist in his keen search for fresh data for the differentiation of types.

It has been supposed that coins having indications of a second design were "overstruck," that is, coins were used as blanks or flans. While such procedure is quite possible, it is difficult to imagine what practical advantage this expedient would have been to the Norman moneyer, unless the type of coin so utilized had been demonetized. In such circumstances the moneyer might make use of the uncurrent coins, if they were available in any quantity, in order to save himself the labour of preparing blanks from bullion.

A well-known instance of overstriking coins in modern times occurred in 1804, when, on account of the scarcity of cash and the high price of bullion, two million Spanish dollars, not being themselves legal tender in this country, were overstruck with new dies in the Boulton presses at Soho, and issued as British currency. The outlines of the dollar designs can still be discerned on many of these Bank tokens. This unusual measure of adapting foreign coins to supply the deficiencies of the home currency is altogether different from that of striking current coins for re-issue in the same sphere of circulation. The latter expedient has been resorted to when a coinage has been withdrawn from circulation for political reasons, as, for instance, when the "harpe and cross" money was re-coined after the Restoration of Charles II. But the immense labour, as well as expense to the State, involved in the recalling and re-issue of a coinage tends to prevent the adoption of such a measure, unless in circumstances of grave necessity.

Whether numismatists are in possession of adequate evidence of such a practice by the Norman Williams may be a matter of debate. But it should not be a difficult task, supposing a sufficient number of overstruck pennies of the same type are available, to determine by inspection and comparison whether

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<sup>1</sup> A short reverse die would probably be re-cut as an obverse, that not requiring so long a shank.

they were struck by altered dies or not. In the case of a die re-engraved without first removing all traces of the previous design, those traces will of necessity appear in the same relative position to the lines of the new design on all coins struck by that die. If, on the other hand, coins were used as blanks under entirely new dies, the resulting pieces may be distinguished (1) by the fact that the relative positions of the two designs are seen to vary considerably, according to the manner in which the coin happened to be placed on the lower die; and (2) by the outlines of a double impression being visible on both the obverse and the reverse sides.

We might, however, reasonably expect to find this class of evidence preponderating in favour of alterations in the dies, for the Norman period must have been one of great activity for the die-engravers. The large number of mints, some possessing several moneyers each, and the frequent changes of type combined to make such a labour-saving device as the re-issue of the dies in an altered form an advantage, if not an actual necessity; and particularly so, if, as is generally believed, the dies were supplied to the whole kingdom from a common centre. As there was an entire change of dies every two or three years at least, it is certain the cuneator would exercise all possible economy of time and labour in the preparation of new coining-irons, and a ready means of doing this would be the utilization of returned dies, either by re-engraving the entire face, or, in the case of the issue of dies of the same type to another moneyer of the same mint, by re-cutting the letters of the name only, as appears to have been done on the die for Swetman. Only in this instance the work was so unskilfully executed as to attract attention.

There is another coin, also unrecorded, by Swetman of Oxford, in the Mint Collection. This is of the kind known as a "mule." It has the same type of reverse (pierced cross pattée in quatrefoil, Hwks. 246), but a side-faced bust with sword on the obverse (Hwks. 244). On this coin, however, the letters of the moneyer's name are uniform in style with the other parts of the legends.

Some readings on the reverses of other coins of this period appear to be either new altogether or to show new variations in spelling.

*Rev.*—SEF[A]R ON PĪTVN (Wilton, Hwks. 246).

*Rev.*—PRIHTPOD ON CNT (Canterbury, Hwks. 244).

*Rev.*—LIFINC ON LEICET (Leicester (?), Hwks. 244).

*Rev.*—GOD[P]INE ON SIER (Salisbury, Hwks. 244).

*Rev.*—IELFNOX ON STF (Stafford). This coin has the full-faced bust of Hwks. 246, and the unpierced cross of Hwks. 245.

W. J. HOCKING.

FIND OF COINS OF HENRY I.—I recently obtained a small hoard of twelve pennies of Henry I, found at Lowestoft. As they came into my possession only indirectly, I have not been able to ascertain the exact particulars. Apparently, however, they were all found together on the beach, probably carried down by a fall of the cliff. I have been unable to find out whether they constituted the whole hoard or not. With these pennies I received a brass piece, much corroded, apparently a French jeton, which was said to have been found with the others.

All the pennies were of Hawkins' types 262 and 255, six of each type being present. Most were in fair condition.

The following moneyers and mints occur:—

Type 262.—1. + AILWALRA · ON · BRI

2. + ALFPINE : ON : [LV]NDE :

3. + GEFFREI : ON : NORh :

4. + - - - SVWI - -

5. Illegible.

6. Illegible.

Type 255.—7. + RODBERT · ON · CA[NTA]

8. + - - - - ON · [C]ANT[A]

9. + - - - ICR - - - [ON]LVN

10. + VL[FRAVE]N : ON : LVN

11. + [OTE]R : ON : NOR[PIC]

12. + RAVVLF : ON : OXEN

Of these, No. 1 is interesting as affording a complete reading of Mr. Andrew's hypothetical AILWA[RD] of Bristol.

No. 3 reads NORh : instead of NORhA : as Mr. Andrew's specimens read.

No. 4 presents a distinct variation in the bust, and especially in the crown, exactly analogous to that obtaining in the case of Hawkins' type 242 of William I. Unfortunately, a portion of the coin is broken away, making the legend indecipherable.

On No. 9 the moneyer may possibly be SMIERPINE.

STEWART A. McDOWALL.

## VIII.

### A STELE FROM ABONUTEICHOS.

THE small town of Ineboli, on the coast of Paphlagonia, about halfway between Amastris and Sinope, has yielded up to now very few archæological records. Little is known of its history, save the famous episode of the soothsayer and charlatan Alexander, in the time of the Antonines, who changed its former name of *Abonuteichos* into that of *Ionopolis*, now corrupted to *Ineboli*<sup>1</sup> The more welcome is the fine inscription from that *provenance* which has been recently—shall I say published or concealed?—by M. R. Ch. Loeper, in the *Journal of the Russian Archæological Institute in Constantinople* (*Izviestya russkavo arkheologitchewskovo Instituta*, vol. viii., Sofia, 1902, p. 153 ff). This inscription—the only one of pre-Roman times as yet found at Ineboli—is engraved on a handsome stele of white marble, about 0·50 m. high, preserved in the house of one M. Sonda; it was copied by M. Collaro, Vice-Consul of Russia at Keresonda, a well-known collector of coins. The stele has sloping sides and a low gable adorned with plain acroteria and a rose in the centre. The writing is very legible and practically complete. M. Loeper has given a good facsimile, and his commentary, so far as I can make my way through his

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<sup>1</sup> On the coins of Abonuteichos connected with this episode, cp. Babelon in the *Rev. numismatique*, 1900. For inscriptions (Roman period) cf. G. Hirschfeld, *Berliner Sitzungsab.*, 1888, p. 886 ff.

Russian, is learned and instructive, although sometimes too ingenious. Numismatists will be glad to find here a complete transcript of this text, which throws some light on several disputed points of Pontic numismatics.

- Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ βασιλεύοντος Μι-  
 θραδάτου Εὐεργέτου ἔτους αἷρ  
 μηνὸς Δίου· ἔδοξεν φράτορσιν· Δάιπ-  
 (π)ος Κρίτωνος ἱερατεύων εἶπεν· Ἐ-  
 5 πειδὴ Ἀλκιμος Μηνοφίλου στρατη-  
 γὸς, τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ χρυ-  
 σῶι στεφάνωι, ἀποδέξαμενος τὴν  
 χάριτα πολλαπλασίοσι τιμαῖς  
 κ]αὶ ἐπ(ι)δόσειν (η)ῦξησεν τὴν φρά-  
 10 τρ]αν, προσεπιστεφανώσας καὶ  
 ἀργυρίου <τε> δραχ (σιδ) σ καὶ τινὰς των  
 πρεσβυτέρων χρυσοῖς στεφά-  
 νοις· Δεδόχθαι τοῖς φράτορσιν ἐ-  
 παινέσαι τε αὐτὸν, καὶ προσγράψαι  
 15 τῷ τῶν φρατόρων νόμωι—πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
 μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας τάς τε  
 τῶν στεφάνων ἀναγορεύσεις καὶ  
 ἐπαίνων ἀεὶ συντελεῖν κατὰ τὸ δο-  
 χθὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων  
 20 διὰ τέλους—τὰ αὐτὰ φιλάνθρωπα ὑπάρ-  
 χειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐ-  
 τοῦ, γραφῆναι τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο  
 διὰ Μάτριος εἰ(ς) στήλην λευκόλιθον  
 καὶ ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὴν πρὸς τῷ τοῦ  
 25 Διὸς Ποαρινοῦ ἱερῶι.

#### CRITICAL NOTES

Line 4.—The first letter is given as half defaced on the facsimile M. Loeper reads it as ρ, but there is no such name as Δάιπρος in Greek, whereas Δάιππος is well known.

Line 8.—Πολλαπλασίοσι is the perfectly correct dative plural of πολλαπλασίων. I see no reason to alter the text, as M Loeper proposes (πολλαπλασίοις, etc)

Line 9.—The stone has ἐπέδοσεν and εὐξήσεν, both *lapsus*.

Line 11.—Τε rightly cancelled by M. Loeper.

Line 17.—ἀναγορεύσεις So the stone. M Loeper, apparently by mistake, transcribes ἀγορεύσεις

Line 23.—M. Loeper interprets διὰ | μάτριος, "with a chisel," but there is no such word in Greek, and Μάτρις is a common name. The stone has ΕΙΣΤΗΑΗΝ.

### TRANSLATION.

"To good Fortune!

"Under the reign of Mithradates Euergetes, in the year 161 and the month Dios, decree of the Brethren; Daippos, son of Kriton, managing priest, moved the following resolution:—

"Considering that Alkimos, son of Menophilos, strategus, having been honoured by the community with a golden crown, in acknowledgment of this graciousness has requited the Brotherhood with manifold honours and bounties, and presented them, moreover, with a sum of 200 drachmae, and several of the older members with golden crowns;

"That it may please the Brethren to praise him (publicly), and—in order that his crowns and praises be not only proclaimed, conformably to the decree,<sup>2</sup> every year during his lifetime, but also among our descendants for ever—that an article be added to the standing rules of the Brethren, to the effect that the same advantages be assured for ever to himself and his issue; this decree to be inscribed by (the scribe) Matris on a stele of white marble, and the stele to be erected close to the temple of Zeus Poarinos."

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<sup>2</sup> Not the present decree, but a previous one.

Of the varied information contained in this decree, I shall only select a few points.

We know now that Abonuteichos was already in the second century B.C. a flourishing Greek community, with certainly an old Greek population; this, as M. Loeper has well shown, is proved by the existence of such an archaic institution as a *φρατρία*, organized on the model of similar corporations in the mother country. Whether the town enjoyed a municipal franchise or not remains an open question; the strategus (line 5) may be as well a communal magistrate as a royal officer (lord-lieutenant). That Abonuteichos belonged to the Pontic kingdom was, of course, well known, although we had no positive evidence on the subject. Amastris was Pontic since 279 (Memnon, c. 16), Sinope since 183; Abonuteichos must have fallen to the Mithradatids between those two dates.

The existence of a cult of Zeus at Abonuteichos was already made probable by the unique coin of the pre-Roman period which has come down to us, viz. :

Laureate head of Zeus to right.

Α ΑΒΩΝΟΥ | ΤΕΙΧΟΥ. Eagle with spread wings, head to right. In the field the monogram  $\overline{\text{K}}$  AE. 21 mil. Oxford (Bodleian Library).

As, however, these Zeus types are of common occurrence in the Mithradatic kingdom and period (they are found at Amasia, Amisus, Dia, Gaziura, Kabeira, Pharnacia, Taulara, Amastris, Pimolisa, Sinope), it has been doubted whether they really refer in every case to local cult; the question is now settled so far as Abonuteichos is concerned, but the epithet under which Zeus was worshipped there remains mysterious. As *ποάριον* is a diminutive of *πόα* "grass," found in Theophrastus, it is just possible, as



M. Loeper suggests, that Zeus Poarinos is a god of pastures and flocks, to be compared with Apollo Ποίμνιος at Naxos.

The new inscription may also give a clue to the monogram on the Oxford coin. This monogram easily resolves itself into the letters ΚΡΙΤ . . . Now, the name Κρίτων appears in our inscription as that of the father of the acting priest Δάιππος. It is therefore not unlikely that the magistrate who struck the Oxford coin was also called Kriton, and he may have been the son of our Daippos.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the first lines: "Under the reign of Mithradates Euergetes, in the year 161, and the month Dios." Mithradates Euergetes is the last king but one of independent Pontus, the father of Mithradates Eupator. His surname was attested until now only by literary texts (Strabo, x. 4, 10; Appianus, *Mith.*, 10), by a late and somewhat doubtful inscription,<sup>3</sup> and, lastly, by a very suspicious coin, published by Vaillant, from the cabinet of Cardinal Massimi: "Diademed (on the woodcut: laureate) head to right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ Bearded figure standing, wearing modius and pallium, an eagle on extended right hand, a sceptre (woodcut: palm-branch) in left. In field, date (?) ΓΟΡ; beneath, the monogram ΜΚ." As no genuine coins of this king are known, numismatists have been inclined of late to identify him with Mithradates Philopator Philadelphos, whose coins were discovered twenty years ago. In favour of this identification, I personally adduced an argument of some weight: Appianus says that Mithradates

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<sup>3</sup> Boeckh, O I G 2276 (after Spon and Wheler), from Delos: Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου | Εὐεργέτου Σέλευκος | Μαρθάνιος γυμνασιάρχων This use of the genitive absolute is unparalleled, we should certainly expect, as on the Delos stone of Eupator (Hauvette, *B. C. H.*, vi. 343) ὑπὲρ βασιλέως, etc.

Euergetes was the *first* King of Pontus to make alliance with Rome. Now we possess an inscription from the Capitol (*Inscr. gr.*, xiv. p. 696) stating that *Mithradates Philopator Philadelphos* was an ally of the Romans; the inference is, that Philopator = Euergetes. However, later discoveries have shown this reasoning to be a fallacy, and in my last memoir on the subject (reprinted in *L'Histoire par les Monnaies*, p. 127 ff) I reverted to the distinction between the two kings. This distinction is now officially proved to be correct by the Ineboli stone, for in an inscription like this the surname or surnames of the king are sure to be given in full; so the fact that he is only called *Euergetes* proves *Philopator Philadelphos* to have been another person, and Appianus to have been misinformed. The absence of coins of Euergetes is puzzling, but this gap may be filled up any day.

The date 161 must certainly be reckoned according to the royal "Pontic era,"<sup>4</sup> the origin of which, as is proved by Bosporan coins, was the autumn of 297 B.C.; this era, of which we have here the oldest example, may be connected with the assumption of the kingly title by the first Mithradates, or else have been borrowed from the Bithynian kingdom, where, as I have shown elsewhere (*Trois royaumes*, p. 131 ff), the same era or, maybe, that of autumn 298, was in use since at least 149 B.C. Year 161 of the Pontic era corresponds, therefore, to 137-36 B.C., when Mithradates Euergetes had already been reigning for at least a dozen of years, for he it was who assisted the Romans in the third Punic war, 149 B.C. (Appian, *Mith.*, 10). Dios. is the first month of the year, say

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<sup>4</sup> Compare the coins of Sinope with year 223 in the Paris and Berlin collections.

October, 137. Our text provides us with the long-expected evidence that the Pontic cities, and most likely the kingdom itself, had adopted the Macedonian calendar, including the denomination of the months (see my *Mithradates Eupator*, German ed., p. 260).

THÉODORE REINACH.

## IX.

### L'ATELIER MONÉTAIRE D'HÉRACLÉE DE THRACE PENDANT LA PÉRIODE CONSTANTINIENNE, A.D. 305-337.

(Voir Planche VI)

L'ATELIER monétaire d'Héraclée de Thrace fut créé par Dioclétien. La province dont il porte le nom appartient au César Galère depuis le partage de l'empire, qui eut lieu lors de la formation de la première tétrarchie impériale en 293.<sup>1</sup> Lorsque Dioclétien et Maximien Hercule abdiquèrent, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai 305, et prirent le titre de *Seniores Augusti*, l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace demeura dans les états de Galère devenu Auguste.<sup>2</sup> Il appartient à ce prince jusqu'à sa mort, le 5 Mai 311; et passa alors dans les états de Licinius,<sup>3</sup> qui le conserva jusqu'à sa défaite définitive par Constantin en 324. Aussi

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<sup>1</sup> Lenain de Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv p 23, Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 39, Illyrici ora ad usque Ponti fretum Galerio.

<sup>2</sup> *Eutropii breviarium*, lib x. c 2 *Anonymus Valesii*, iii. 5 "Maximino datum est orientis imperium, Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thracias et Bithyniam tenuit." Galère n'abandonna à Maximin Daza que la Syrie et l'Égypte avec les ateliers d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie.

<sup>3</sup> Licinius et Maximin Daza faillirent entrer en guerre après la mort de Galère, mais ils y renoncèrent au dernier moment, et la mer de Propontide avec les détroits d'Hellespont et de Chalcédoine servit de limite aux deux empires. Les ateliers de Cyzique et de Nicomédie appartenaient donc à Maximin Daza jusqu'à sa défaite suivie de sa mort en 313; tandis que celui d'Héraclée de Thrace se trouva dans les états de Licinius à partir de la mort de Galère. Lactance, *De mortibus persecutorum*, cap. xxxvi.

cet atelier frappa-t-il les mêmes émissions monétaires que tous ceux qui appartenrent à Licinius à partir de la mort de Maximin Daza en Juin 313.<sup>4</sup> Enfin il entra dans l'empire unifié par Constantin en 324, à la suite de la victoire définitive de cet empereur sur Licinius.

### PREMIÈRE ÉMISSION

*La première émission de la période Constantinienne parut depuis la formation de la seconde tétrarchie le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai 305, jusqu'à l'élévation de Licinius au rang d'Auguste, lors du congrès de Carnuntum le 11 Novembre 308.*<sup>5</sup>

Il y eut au début de cette émission deux Augustes Constance Chlore et Galère, deux Césars Sévère II et Maximin Daza; et enfin deux Augustes qui avaient abdiqué le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai 305, mais qui gardaient le titre de *Seniores Augusti*,<sup>6</sup> Dioclétien et Maximien Hercule. Ce fut au cours de cette émission que survint la mort de Constance Chlore le 25 Juillet 306.<sup>7</sup>

Sévère fut à partir de cette date promu au rang d'Auguste et Constantin à celui de César. La tétrarchie se trouva reconstituée avec Galère et Sévère II Augustes; Maximin Daza et Constantin Césars; tandis que Dioclétien et Maximien Hercule gardaient encore quelque temps le titre de *Seniores Augusti*.<sup>8</sup> Mais Maxence

<sup>4</sup> Cf J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, pp 227 à 232; *L'Atelier mon. d'Alexandrie*, *Num Chron.*, 1902, pp. 120 à 125; *L'Atelier mon de Nicomédie*, *Num Chron.*, 1903, pp 238 à 258

<sup>5</sup> *Consularia Constantinopolitana · Monumenta Germaniae Historica ; Chronica Minora Saec IV à VII.* p. 231; anno 308

<sup>6</sup> On leur donne ces titres sur les monnaies jusqu'au moment où Hercule reprend le pouvoir en Italie en 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Cons Const. : Mon. Germ. Hist. ; Chron. Min.*, pp 231 à 306.

<sup>8</sup> Ainsi que le prouve la frappe de leurs monnaies.

s'étant emparé du pouvoir à Rome le 28 Octobre 306,<sup>9</sup> Maximien Hercule son père, rappelé par lui en Italie, reprit le titre effectif d'Auguste en Février 307.<sup>10</sup> Des lors le titre de *Seniores Augusti* ne dut plus être inscrit sur les médailles, mais les titres nouveaux de Maxence et d'Hercule, usurpateurs du pouvoir en Italie, ne furent pas reconnus par Galère; aussi n'émit-on pas de monnaies à leurs noms à Héraclée de Thrace, atelier de Galère. Sévère ayant péri à son tour, un mois plus tard, dans sa campagne d'Italie contre Maxence,<sup>11</sup> Galère songea à élever au pouvoir Licinius, son ancien compagnon d'armes. C'est ce qu'il fit à la conférence de Carnuntum le 11 Novembre 308,<sup>12</sup> et cet événement marque la fin de l'émission présente dans laquelle ne se trouvent pas de monnaies de Licinius. Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont des *folles* de deux pieds monétaires différents. Les plus grands sont encore les grandes pièces de bronze créées par Dioclétien lors de sa réforme monétaire vers 296; ces monnaies pèsent de 9 à 12 grammes. Mais à partir des années 306 ou 307, l'on émit dans les divers ateliers de l'empire Romain des pièces plus petites pesant de 6 grammes à 7 gr. 50 c. Cet abaissement du poids des monnaies ne résulta pas de la création d'une nouvelle espèce monétaire,

<sup>9</sup> D'après Eumène, *Panegy.*, ix. 16, et Lactance, *De mort. pers.*, XLIV. Maxence trouva la mort à la bataille du Pont Milvius exactement quatre ans après son avènement au trône, au jour anniversaire de cet avènement.

<sup>10</sup> Pendant l'invasion de Sévère en Italie (Lactantius, *De mort. pers.*, cap. xxvi) qui précéda de plus d'un mois le mariage de Constantin et de Fausta au 31 Mars 307 (Lact., *De mort. pers.*, xxvii.).

<sup>11</sup> En Avril. Toutes ces dates sont déterminées par la suite des événements Cf. Zosime, *Historiae*, lib. ii. cap. 10; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 40. Maxence fit périr Sévère pendant l'invasion de Galère en Italie.

<sup>12</sup> *Consul. Const.*, loc. cit.

mais de l'altération de l'espèce de *follis* courante; aussi ne se fit il pas à la même date dans les ateliers des diverses parties de l'empire qui appartenaient à des empereurs différents.<sup>13</sup> Mais il eut lieu partout postérieurement à la mort de Constance Chlore, qui avait occupé jusque là le premier rang nominal (*titulus primi ordinis*) dans la tétrarchie impériale et à l'occupation de ce rang par Galère; aussi l'on doit attribuer à cet empereur cette altération des monnaies qui gagna tous les ateliers de l'empire par suite de la nécessité d'avoir des monnaies échangeables entre les divers états. Cette altération des pièces de bronze eut lieu à Héraclée de Thrace après que Galère eut hérité du premier rang parmi les Augustes, à la mort de Constance Chlore.

*Tableau des Exergues de l'Émission et des Lettres dans le  
Champs du Revers des Pièces.*

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$\frac{ }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTE}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTS}}$
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DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTE}}$	$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{HTS}}$
------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------

TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{A}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{B}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{F}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{A}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{E}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{S}}$
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<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p 214; et *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves*, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, p 135.

## PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION

*Frappée antérieurement à la mort de Constance Chlore le 25 Juillet 306.*

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIA · DEORVM QVIES · AVGG. La Providence debout à gauche, tenant un rameau levé et s'appuyant sur un sceptre, en face d'une femme qui la regarde et lève la main droite.

*Au droit*.—1°. D · N · DIOCLETIANO · BEATISSIMO · SEN AVG. Son buste lauré à droite, portant le manteau impérial et tenant d'une main une branche d'olivier et de l'autre le foudre. Cohen, 422 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. S ; collection Voetter.

2°. D · N · DIOCLETIANO · FELICISSIMO · SEN AVG. Même buste. Cohen, 423 ; 2<sup>ème</sup> série, off. E ; Voetter.

3°. D · N · MAXIMIANO · FELICISSIMO · SEN · AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, 489, de Maximien Hercule ; 2<sup>ème</sup> série, off. A—B—Δ ; Voetter.

4°. Il manque une pièce de Maximien Hercule désignée par les mots "Beatissimo," etc.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI. Génie coiffé du modius nu debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 81, de Galère ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—E—S ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

2°. IMP · C · FL · VAL · CONSTANTIVS · P · F · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 102 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—E—S ; Fr. 8384 ; 0·027 m.m. Br. Mus. ; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 1, effigie de Galère.]

3°. FL · VAL · SEVERVS · NOB · CAES. Tête analogue. Cohen, 27 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. A—B—Δ—E—S ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.



4°. FL . VAL . SEVERVS . NOBIL . CAES. Tête analogue.  
Cohen, 29 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ;  
Fr. 8741 ; 11 gr. 10 c. ; 8744, 10 gr. 15 c. ;  
Br. Mus. ; Berlin ; Voetter.

5°. GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . NOB CAES Tête analogue  
Cohen, 81 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ;  
Fr. 8859, 8860 ; Br. Mus. ; Berlin ; Voetter.

Les remarques suivantes s'appliquent aux effigies d'empereurs des neuf premiers Nos. de la planche qui accompagne cet article. Les Nos. 1 et 2 sont des effigies de Galère, mais le No. 1 est frappé au nom de Constance Chlore ; c'est un exemple de substitution d'effigie. L'atelier était alors dans les mains de Galère, qui fit frapper des effigies de Maximin Daza, Nos. 3 et 4 en même temps que les siennes ; parceque Daza était le César qu'il avait adopté. L'atelier passa ensuite dans les mains de Licinius, et l'on grava sur les coins monétaires les effigies des Licinius père et fils, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, même sur des monnaies aux noms de Constantin et de Constantin II. Enfin la prise de l'atelier d'Héraclée par Constantin en 324 détermina les graveurs à reproduire les traits véritables de Constantin et des princes de sa famille sur les monnaies frappées à leurs noms.

## DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION

*Frappée après la mort de Constance Chlore le 25 Juillet 306, et l'élévation de Sévère II au rang d'Auguste et de Constantin à celui de César.*

I. Au revers.—GENIO POPVLI . ROMANI. Avec le type déjà décrit.

1°. IMP . C GAL . VAL . MAXIMIANVS . P . F AVG. Cohen, 81 ; déjà décrit ; 1<sup>re</sup> série ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. Γ ; Fr. 8621 ; 6 gr. 25 c. ; 0.022 m.m. Les pièces de

cette seconde partie de l'émission sont du moindre des deux pieds monétaires. 2<sup>me</sup> série ; Fr. 8622. [Pl. VI., No. 2, effigie de Galère.]

2°. IMP · C · FLA VAL · SEVERVS · P · F AVG Sa tête laurée à droite. Variété de Cohen, 31, off. B—Γ—Δ; Voetter.

3° GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · NOB CAES. Cohen, 81, déjà décrit.

4°. FL · VAL CONSTANTINVS · NOB · CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite de Constantin le Grand. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

Le génie est toujours coiffé du modius sur les pièces des ateliers d'Orient qui appartenaient à Dioclétien et à Maximin Daza. Il en est de même sur les pièces sorties des ateliers de Galère, et de Licinius, Héraclée de Thrace, Thessalonica, Siscia.

## DEUXIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis le congrès de Carnuntum en Pannonie, où Licinius fut élevé au rang d'Auguste le 8 Novembre 308,<sup>14</sup> par Dioclétien et Galère; jusqu'à la mort de ce dernier empereur survenue le 5 Mai 311.<sup>15</sup>*

L'atelier d'Héraclée frappa des monnaies de Licinius dès le début de cette émission, qui correspondent aux dernières pièces de Galère. La frappe de monnaies au nom de Galérie Valérie, fille de Dioclétien et femme de Galère,

<sup>14</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Thessalonica*, *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1901, p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> *Les Consulura Constantinopolitana* indiquent l'année 311; *Anonymus Valerii*, iii. 8.

fut décidée au même congrès de Carnuntum.<sup>16</sup> Ce fut enfin au cours de cette émission pendant l'un des mois d'Avril ou de Mai 309 que Maximin Daza et Constantin quittèrent le titre de Césars pour prendre celui d'Augustes.<sup>17</sup> Galère, pressé par Maximin Daza au début de 309, leur avait d'abord attribué à tous deux le titre de *Filii Augustorum*, appellation honorifique du même genre que celle des *Seniores Augusti*, mais Maximin Daza loin de s'en contenter se fit proclamer Auguste par ses troupes et le fit savoir à Galère. Ce dernier contraint par les événements donna le même titre à Constantin. Ce ne fut que dans les ateliers de Galère, et seulement dans ceux de Siscia et de Thessalonica, que l'on attribua le titre de *Filii Augustorum* aux deux Césars.<sup>18</sup> Je n'ai pas trouvé de pièces d'Héraclée de Thrace qui leur donnent ce titre. S'il n'en existe pas il faut y voir une preuve de plus de ce fait que les divers ateliers d'un même empereur recevaient des attributions spéciales. C'est ainsi que l'atelier de Lyon sous Constantin frappa des monnaies de Maxence et de Galère que n'émettaient pas ceux de Trèves, de Londres,<sup>19</sup> etc. ;

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<sup>16</sup> La frappe des monnaies de cette impératrice dans les ateliers de Galère ainsi que dans ceux de Licinius et de Maximin Daza, créatures de Galère, à partir de ce congrès où assistaient Dioclétien père de Valérie et Galère, son mari, est en effet caractéristique. Constantin et Maxence en hostilité avec Galère ne firent pas émettre les monnaies de Valérie. Cf J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 106.

<sup>17</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 217, et *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, même revue, 1900, p. 306.

<sup>18</sup> Les ateliers de Maximin Daza (cf J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 103), et Nicomédie, atelier Asiatique de Galère, mais ayant de nombreux rapports avec ceux de Daza (*L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, même revue, 1903, p. 221) n'attribuèrent le titre de *Filius Augg* qu'à Constantin au cours de cette émission et de la suivante.

<sup>19</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Lyon*, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, pp. 33, 43, 46, 53

que celui de Rome sous Maxence émit seul des monnaies de Maximin Daza ;<sup>20</sup> que l'atelier de Trèves frappa presque exclusivement les médailles célébrant la victoire de Constantin II sur les Goths en 332,<sup>21</sup> etc. ; que l'atelier de Constantinople fut seul chargé de l'émission de toute une série de pièces spéciales comme celles de "Constantiniana Dafne."<sup>22</sup> Il serait facile de multiplier les exemples des attributions spéciales que chaque atelier de cette époque recevait à l'exclusion des autres ateliers d'un même empereur. Celui d'Héraclée de Thrace donna à Maximin Daza ainsi qu'à Constantin les titres de P(ius) F(elix) Inv(ictus) Aug(ustus), que l'on ne rencontre pas sur les pièces frappées dans les autres ateliers.

Ces titres se trouvent sur des monnaies émises à Héraclée de Thrace depuis le mois de Mai 309 (époque de la reconnaissance de Constantin et de Maximin Daza, comme Augustes par Galère) jusqu'en l'année 312. Les pièces de bronze de cette émission ont des poids analogues à ceux des plus petites de l'émission précédente, variant de 7 gr. 50 c. à 5 gr. 50 c. ; et des diamètres variant de 0.023 à 0.026 millimètres.<sup>23</sup>

L'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace fonctionna à partir de 308 avec cinq officines.

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<sup>20</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 353.

<sup>21</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves, Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, 1901, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Constantinople, Revue Numismatique*, 1901, p. 187.

<sup>23</sup> Les abréviations usitées dans ce travail comme dans les précédents doivent être rappelées : Br. Mus. = British Museum, Fr. = Cabinet de France ; gr. = gramme, c = centigramme ; m m. = millimètre.

*Tableau des Exergues de l'Émission et des Signes Placés  
dans le Champ du Revers des Monnaies :—*

Première série :

$\frac{ }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Deuxième série :

$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{A}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{B}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \text{F}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\text{H} \cdot \text{T} \cdot \epsilon}$
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Troisième série :

$\frac{ }{\cdot \text{HTA} \cdot}$	$\frac{ }{\cdot \text{HTB} \cdot}$	$\frac{ }{\cdot \text{HTF} \cdot}$	$\frac{ }{\cdot \text{HT}\Delta \cdot}$	$\frac{ }{\cdot \text{HT}\epsilon \cdot}$
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Quatrième série :

$\frac{* }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{* }{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{* }{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{* }{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{* }{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Cinquième série :

$\frac{ *}{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{ *}{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{ *}{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{ *}{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{ *}{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Sixième série :

$\frac{  \cup}{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{  \cup}{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{  \cup}{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{  \cup}{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{  \cup}{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Septième série :

$\frac{*  \cup}{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{*  \cup}{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{*  \cup}{\text{HTF}}$	$\frac{*  \cup}{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{*  \cup}{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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I. *Au revers.*—GENIO · CAESARIS Génie coiffé du modius, à demi nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère dont la liqueur coule et une corne d'abondance

1°. GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · NOB · CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 40; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off.  $\Gamma$ — $\Delta$ ; Berlin; Voetter; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. B— $\Delta$ ; Fr. 88145; 6 gr. 90 c.; 0·026 m.m.; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. B— $\Delta$ ; Voetter.

Le César Maximin Daza ayant été adopté par Galère, ce dernier fit envoyer à ses ateliers monétaires l'effigie de

Daza, que l'on trouve sur les monnaies d'Héraclée de Thrace frappées à son nom

L'on devrait trouver dans cette émission des pièces de Constantin César, mais je n'en ai pas rencontrées.

2°. IMP · C · VAL · LIC · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen 39 ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ ; Fr. 9026 ; 5 gr. 25 c. ; 0.027 m.m.

3°. Il existe peut-être une pièce analogue au nom de Galère Auguste.

4°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINO P · F · INV · AVG Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite. 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ ; Voetter.

Cette monnaie est hybride, car l'on ne dut plus inscrire la légende *genio Caesaris* au revers des pièces quand Maximin et Constantin furent Augustes et qu'il n'y eut plus de Césars dans l'empire.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO · IMPERATORIS. Le type est un génie coiffé du modius, nu et le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, debout à gauche, tenant une patère dont la liqueur coule et une corne d'abondance.

1°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 48 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. A—Δ, Voetter ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—Γ—Δ ; Fr. 8522, 8525 ; Musée de Berlin ; Voetter ; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε ; Fr. 8524 ; Berlin ; Voetter ; 6<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε ; Fr. 8526—8 ; 6 gr. 05 c. ; 0.025 m.m. ; 7<sup>me</sup> série, off. A— —Γ—Δ—Ε ; Voetter.

2°. IMP · C · VAL · LIC · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG Tête analogue. Cohen, 43 ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Γ—Δ, Fr. 9035—6 ; Berlin ; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ ; Fr. 9034 ; 6<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—Ε ; Fr. 9033 ; 5 gr. 80 c. ; 0.023 m.m ; Berlin.

3°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · INV · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 54 ; 7<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Δ—Ε ; Fr. 8840, 8843—4 ; Musée de Berlin ; Turin ; Voetter.

4°. IMP · C · GAL VAL · MAXIMINO · P · F · INV · AVG.  
Même tête. Cohen, 53; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Δ;  
Voetter; 6<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Γ—Δ—Ε; Fr. 8841-2;  
7 gr. 10 c.; 0.025 m.m.; Turin; Voetter. [Pl.  
VI, No. 3; effigie de Maximin Daza.]

5°. GAL VAL · MAXIMINVS · NOB CAES. Même tête,  
pièce inédite. 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. Γ—Δ; Voetter.

Cette pièce doit être hybride de même que celle de  
Maximin Auguste qui porte la légende du revers *Génio*  
*Caesaris*.

III. *Au revers*.—VIRTVTI EXERCITI (*sic*). Mars nu, le  
manteau flottant, marchant à droite, portant  
une haste et un trophée.

*Au droit*—1°. GAL VAL MAXIMINVS · NOB · CAES Sa  
tête laurée à droite. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B, Voetter;  
pièce inédite de Daza frappée avant son éléva-  
tion au rang d'Auguste en Mai 309.

2°. IMP · C · GAL VAL · MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG Sa  
tête laurée à droite; pièce voisine de Cohen,  
230; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A, Fr. 8678; 6 gr., 0.027  
m.m.; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B; Voetter.

3°. IMP · C · VAL · LIC · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Tête  
analogue. Pièce inédite. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. Δ;  
Voetter.

4°. IMP C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · INV · AVG.  
Tête analogue. Cohen, 210; 6<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ;  
Fr. 8917; 7 gr. 10 c.; Voetter.

5°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINO · P · F · INV AVG  
Tête analogue. 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. B; Voetter.

IV. *Au revers*.—VENERI VICTRICI. Vénus debout à gauche,  
tenant une pomme de la main droite et soulevant  
son voile.

*Au droit*.—GAL · VALERIA · AVG Son buste diadémé et  
drapé à droite. Cohen, 2; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off.  
A—B—Γ—Δ; Fr. 8701; 5 gr. 59 c.; 0.026 m.m.;  
8702, 8708-9; Voetter; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ,  
Voetter; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ; Fr. 8707;  
Musée de Berlin; Voetter; 7<sup>me</sup> série, off.  
B—Γ—Δ; Fr. 8703-4; Voetter.

Les monnaies de l'impératrice Valérie furent émises à partir de la conférence de Carnuntum et pendant le cours de cette émission jusqu'à la mort de Galère. Elles portent les exergues des ateliers de Galère, ainsi que de ceux de Licinius et de Maximin Daza, qui reconnaissaient l'autorité de Galère. Valérie était fille de Dioclétien et femme de Galère, empereurs qui avaient organisé la conférence de Carnuntum, où Licinius vint également recevoir le titre d'Auguste, et où fut décidée cette frappe des monnaies de Valérie. Ces monnaies cessèrent d'être émises dans les états de Licinius aussitôt après la mort de Galère, tandis qu'elles continuèrent à l'être quelque temps encore dans les ateliers de Maximin Daza, empereur qui prétendit d'abord à la main de Valérie, veuve de Galère; avant de la persécuter à son tour.<sup>24</sup> Licinius la fit enfin périr ainsi que sa mère Prisca à Thessalonica en 315.

### TROISIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis la mort de l'empereur Galère, le 5 Mai 311, jusqu'au courant de l'année 312.*

Cette émission est caractérisée par l'absence des monnaies de Galère, mort le 5 Mai 311. L'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace passa à cette époque dans les états de Licinius. En effet cet empereur arriva avec son armée sur l'une des rives du Bosphore tandis que Maximin Daza occupait l'autre, après la mort de Galère, et tous deux furent sur le point de commencer la guerre, mais ils en pesèrent les chances douteuses et convinrent que chacun d'eux garderait l'une des rives du Bosphore.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Lactance, *De mort. pers*, cap. xxxix

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. xxxvi.



Les ateliers de Licinius et ceux de Maximin Daza eurent des émissions synchroniques après la mort de Galère.

Les légendes *Jovi Conservatori* et *Jovi Conservatori Augg.* furent communément inscrites sur les monnaies qui sortirent des ateliers de ces deux empereurs de 311 à 313. Ceux de Maximin Daza émirent seuls les pièces qui présentaient au revers, les légendes, *Genio Augusti, Imperatoris*, etc., et le type du génie coiffé du modius, tenant une corne d'abondance et versant la liqueur d'une patère sur un autel allumé; type qui est la représentation caractéristique du culte provincial de l'empereur auquel Maximin Daza avait rendu une très-grande importance dans ses états.<sup>26</sup>

Un abaissement simultané du poids moyen des monnaies de bronze ou *folles* se produisit dans les ateliers de Licinius et dans ceux de Maximin Daza après la mort de Galère en 310. Ces monnaies qui pesaient en moyenne de 7 gr. à 6 gr. 50 c. au cours de l'émission précédente tombèrent au poids moyen de 5 gr. en 311 et à celui de 4 gr. en 312, sans qu'il fut créé d'espèce monétaire nouvelle. Ces dégradations successives du poids des monnaies durent résulter des besoins du trésor. Le poids moyen des monnaies de bronze se releva pourtant légèrement après la mort de Daza; il semble que Licinius ait voulu reprendre la frappe d'une monnaie de bronze de Dioclétien, le *Denarius Communis* de poids variables entre 4 gr. 60 c. et 3 gr. 75 c. Deux courtes émissions parurent du 5 Mai 311, date de la mort de Galère, à Juin 313, époque de celle de Maximin Daza, dans les ateliers de ce dernier empereur et dans ceux de Licinius. Ce

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<sup>26</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Nicomédie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1903, pp. 225 à 228.

qui permet de distinguer ces émissions ce sont les fermetures et ouvertures d'officines qui se produisirent au début de l'année 312 dans les ateliers d'Alexandrie,<sup>27</sup> de Nicomédie,<sup>28</sup> de Siscia<sup>29</sup> et de Thessalonica.<sup>30</sup>

*Tableau des Exergues, Lettres d'Officines et Signes Placés dans le Champ du Revers des Pièces.*

Première série :

$\frac{ }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HT}\Gamma}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Deuxième série :

$\frac{\text{Q} }{\text{HTA}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} }{\text{HTB}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} }{\text{HT}\Gamma}$	$\frac{\text{Q} }{\text{HT}\Delta}$	$\frac{\text{Q} }{\text{HT}\epsilon}$
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Troisième série :

$\frac{\text{Q} A}{\text{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} B}{\text{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \Gamma}{\text{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \Delta}{\text{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \epsilon}{\text{SMHT}}$
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I. *Au revers.*—IOVI · CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, tenant un globe et un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle.

*Au droit.*—IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · INV · AVG Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 115 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B—Γ—ε ; Voetter.

II. Même revers mais avec la couronne qui est le différent des deux dernières séries au lieu de l'aigle dans le champ de la monnaie à gauche.

*Au droit* —1°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · INV · AVG Même tête. Cohen, 114 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Δ, Musée de Berlin ; Voetter.

<sup>27</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, Num. Chron., 1902, p. 115

<sup>28</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, Num. Chron., 1903, p. 233

<sup>29</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Siscia*, Num. Chron. 1900, p. 315.

<sup>30</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Thessalonica*, Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1900, p. 117.

2°. IMP · C · VAL · LIC · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 78 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Δ ; FR. 9043 ; 5 gr. 65 c. ; 0 024 m.m. ; Musée de Berlin ; Voetter.

3°. IMP C FL · VAL · CONSTANTINO · P · F · INV AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite, pièce inédite. 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. B ; Berlin ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers*.—IOVI · CONSERVATORI · AVGG. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, tenant un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS P · F · INV · AVG Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 125 ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A ; Voetter.

2°. IMP · C · VAL · LICINIAN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 121 ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ ; FR. 9058 ; 5 gr. 25 c. ; 0 023 m.m. ; Voetter.

3°. IMP · C · FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS P · F · INV · AVG. Tête analogue. Pièce inédite. 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—Γ ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter.

Le titre d'*Invictus Augustus* qui avait été accordé par Galère à Maximin Daza et à Constantin en 309 fut encore conservé à ces deux empereurs par routine dans les légendes de cette émission, mais il ne fut pas porté par Licinius, et ne parut plus dans la suivante. Les légendes du revers, *Jovi Conservatori* et *Jovi Conservatori Augg.*, furent principalement inscrites sur les monnaies des ateliers de Maximin Daza en Orient et de ceux de Licinius dans la péninsule des Balkans ; parceque Maximin Daza et Licinius étaient des princes Joviens, ayant reçu l'investiture du pouvoir de Galère descendant Jovien de Dioclétien.

## QUATRIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis le commencement de l'année 312, jusqu'à la guerre entre Maximin Daza et Licinius et la victoire de Licinius à Tzirallum en Thrace le 30 Avril 313.*<sup>31</sup>

En effet cette émission commença en même temps que celles des ateliers d'Orient dans lesquelles parurent encore des monnaies commémoratives de Galère et des pièces de Valérie, qui durent cesser d'être émises presque au début de l'année 312.<sup>32</sup> Elle finit avec la frappe des monnaies de Maximin Daza, à la suite de la guerre de 313 entre cet empereur et Licinius. Cette guerre dont Lactance nous a laissé un récit détaillé fut très soudaine.<sup>33</sup> Héraclée de Thrace fut assiégée par Maximin qui avait envahi le territoire de Licinius, mais au bout de peu de jours l'envahisseur dut marcher au devant de son adversaire et livrer combat à Tzirallum, à 18 milles de Héraclée, le 30 Avril 313. Maximin Daza fut complètement défait, se sauva à Tarse en Cilicie, où il mourut en Juillet 313. L'on dut forcément cesser d'émettre ses monnaies à Héraclée après sa défaite du 30 Avril.<sup>34</sup>

Les *folles* de cet émission sont de petits bronzes

<sup>31</sup> Lactance, *De mort. pers.*, xlvii. ; Kalendis Mais

<sup>32</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Num Chron.*, 1902 p 114.

<sup>33</sup> Lactance, *De mort. pers.*, xlv, xlv, xlvii.

<sup>34</sup> Euseb, *Hist Eccles.*, x. 5 ; Lactance, *De mort pers.*, xlvii. à xlix. , J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 117. Ce fut d'après Lactance en se voyant abandonné de tous que Maximin Daza mit fin à ses jours ; cela dut arriver après la publication à Nicomédie, le 30 Juin 313, de l'édit de tolérance de Licinius à l'égard des chrétiens.

réduits au poids moyen de 3 gr. 60 c.; au diamètre moyen de 0.021 millimètres.

## PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$\frac{ A }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{ B }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{ \Gamma }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{ \Delta }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{ \epsilon }{\overline{SMHT}}$
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## DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$\frac{A }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{B }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\Gamma }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\Delta }{\overline{SMHT}}$	$\frac{\epsilon }{\overline{SMHT}}$
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Les pièces suivantes ont peut-être été frappées également au cours de l'émission précédente.

I. *Au revers*.—GENIO · AVGVSTI. Le génie coiffé du modius, debout à gauche, tenant une tête de Sérapis et une corne d'abondance, à ses pieds à gauche un aigle.

*Au droit*.—IMP · C · GAL VAL · MAXIMINVS P · F · AVG  
Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off.  $\Gamma$ — $\Delta$ ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO · AVGVSTI. Même type, si ce n'est que le génie tient une patère et une corne d'abondance.

*Même droit*.—Pièce voisine de Cohen, 28; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off.  $\Delta$ ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers*.—SOLI · INVICTO Le soleil radié, debout, en robe longue, levant la main droite et tenant la tête de Sérapis.

*Au droit*.—IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG  
Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 161; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A— $\Delta$ ; Voetter.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Des pièces voisines des trois précédentes ont été émises à partir de la mort de Galère en 311, dans l'atelier voisin de Nicomédie. L'Atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace appartenait à Licinius, mais l'on y frappa beaucoup de monnaies de Maximin Daza à cause du voisinage des états de ce prince.

Les pièces suivantes, qui sont toutes de petits bronzes du poids moyen de 3 gr. 60 c., ont certainement été émises en 312-313.

IV. *Au revers* — IOVI · CONSERVATORI · AVGG. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, tenant de la droite une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre, à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

*Au droit.*—1° IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A; BR. Mus.; Voetter.

2° IMP C · FL VAL CONSTANTINVS · P F · AVG. Cohen, 297; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off A—B—Γ—Ε; FR. 1471; 3 gr. 55 c.; 0·021 m.m.; 14718, 4 gr. 60 c.; 0·021 m.m.; BR Mus.; H. Mus V.; Voetter. [Pl. VI. No. 4, tête de Maximin Daza.]

3°. IMP · C VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS P · F · AVG. Tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 108; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε; FR. 9054; 3 gr. 15 c.; 0·022 m.m.; 9055, 9056, 3 gr. 01 c.; BR. Mus.; Voetter.

### CINQUIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis la victoire de Licinius à Tzirallum en Thrace, le 30 Avril 313, jusqu'à la rupture suivie de guerre entre Constantin et Licinius en Août ou Septembre 314.*<sup>36</sup>

En effet cette émission ne comprend plus les monnaies de Maximin Daza, qui cessèrent de paraître après la défaite de cet empereur. Elle comprend au contraire les monnaies de Licinius et de Constantin avec le revers, *Jovi Conservatori Augg.*, indiquant la corégence de ces deux empereurs avant la guerre qui éclata entre eux en

<sup>36</sup> J. MAURICE, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone, Revue Numismatique*, 1900, p. 285.

Septembre 314, et mit momentanément fin à la frappe des monnaies de Constantin.

Les poids des *folles* de cette émission sont voisins de ceux des mêmes pièces de la précédente, mais ils ont une tendance à s'abaisser encore.

#### PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

 $\frac{|}{\text{HTA}}$ 
 $\frac{|}{\text{HTB}}$ 
 $\frac{|}{\text{HTF}}$ 
 $\frac{|}{\text{HTA}}$ 
 $\frac{|}{\text{HTÉ}}$ 

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI · AVGG Même revers que dans l'émission précédente

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP C VAL LICIN · LICINIVS P · F · AVG.  
Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 108, 1<sup>re</sup> série, off B—Γ—Δ—Ε; H. Mus. V.; Voetter.

2°. IMP C FL VAL · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG.  
Tête analogue. Cohen, 297; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B—Ε; Voetter.

II. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Même revers.

*Au droit*.—IMP · C · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG.  
Tête analogue. Cohen, 74; off. A; Voetter.

#### SIXIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée à partir de la rupture entre Constantin et Licinius en Septembre 314, pendant et après la guerre de 314 jusqu'à la reconnaissance des trois Césars, Crispus, Licinius II et Constantin II, par Constantin le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317.*<sup>37</sup>

Cette émission se compose de deux parties très distinctes qui pourraient former deux émissions différentes ;

<sup>37</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, pp 180 à 183.

n'était la pénurie des pièces émises pendant la guerre. En effet l'on ne frappa pendant la guerre que quelques monnaies et médaillons aux noms des deux Licinius père et fils, mais lorsque Constantin et Licinius eurent fait la paix, et pris le consulat en commun le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 315,<sup>38</sup> les monnaies de Constantin et de Licinius furent de nouveau émises les unes et les autres dans l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace qui appartenait à Licinius. Cet empereur s'efforça même de faire reconnaître son fils Licinius II comme César par Constantin en frappant des monnaies de Licinius II, de Crispus et de Constantin II,<sup>39</sup> deux ans avant que Constantin ne leur reconnut le titre de Césars en 317, et ne fit émettre leurs monnaies dans ses propres ateliers.

La partie d'émission qui correspond à la guerre de 314 est signalée dans les deux empires d'Orient et d'Occident par la frappe de monnaies à légendes caractéristiques. En Occident l'on inscrivit sur les monnaies la légende, *Soli Invicto Comiti . Aug. N.*, pour le seul Auguste reconnu, Constantin, dans les ateliers de Rome, Tarragone, Londres; tandis que dans les états de Licinius depuis Thessalonica jusqu'à Alexandrie, l'on fit paraître sur les monnaies l'inscription, *Jovi . Conservatori . Aug.*, pour le seul Auguste reconnu, Licinius, ou bien l'on frappa des monnaies et médaillons aux noms des deux princes Joviens l'Auguste et le César, Licinius père et fils, seuls empereurs reconnus, pendant la guerre de 314. Ce qui indique que ces

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<sup>38</sup> *Consularia Constantinopolitana*: Constantino III et Licinio IV, Coss., *Chronicon Paschale*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; *Chronica Minora Saec.*, IV., V., VI., VII., p. 231.

<sup>39</sup> J'ai exposé ces faits dans mes articles sur l'atelier d'Alexandrie (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 125 à 130) et sur l'atelier de Nicomédie (*Ib.*, 1903, pp. 238 à 242).



pièces ont été frappées pendant la guerre, c'est que les ateliers d'Orient émisent aussitôt après la paix des monnaies frappées aux noms des deux Augustes, Licinius et Constantin, et des trois Césars, Licinius II, Crispus et Constantin II.<sup>40</sup> C'est donc antérieurement à cette époque que parurent les monnaies des deux Licinius père et fils, seul Auguste et seul César, dont la description va suivre. J'ai donné dans une étude sur l'atelier d'Alexandrie la raison qui dut, à ce qu'il semble, décider Licinius à élever son fils au rang de César, dès la guerre 314 ;<sup>41</sup> à savoir le désir de le faire échapper aux conséquences de sa naissance servile.

Lorsque la paix fut conclue entre les deux empereurs à la fin de cette année, le désir de conserver à son fils le titre de César décida Licinius à faire des avances à Constantin et à attribuer le même titre à ses fils ; c'est ce qu'indique la frappe des monnaies des trois Césars en Orient aussitôt après la guerre.<sup>42</sup> J'ai expliqué, dans une étude sur l'atelier de Nicomédie, pourquoi l'on devait dater de la période qui suivit la guerre de 314 la frappe de ces rares monnaies, notamment de celles de Constantin II, prince dont il faut fixer en conséquence la naissance deux ans plus tôt qu'on ne le pensait, c'est-à-dire au 7 Août 314.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, *Num Chron.*, 1903, pp. 247-8

<sup>41</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 130

<sup>42</sup> Ainsi que l'inscription sur les monnaies des légendes *Jovi Conservatori Caess*, au pluriel (voir J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, *Num Chron.*, 1902, pp 125 et 126), et *Providentiae Caess*, au pluriel, que l'on trouve dans l'émission présente d'Héraclée de Thrace

<sup>43</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, *Num Chron.*, 1903, p. 242

## PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION

parue pendant la guerre de 314 à partir du mois de Septembre et peut-être jusqu'à la prise en commun du consulat par Constantin et Licinius, le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 315.

## PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{HTA} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{HTB} \end{array}$$

## DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHA} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHB} \end{array}$$

## TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHTA} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHTB} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHTÉ} \end{array} \text{ (? Banduri)}$$

L'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace (Heraclea Thracium) est désigné dans les exergues ainsi qu'on le voit dans le tableau ci-dessus par les lettres H et HT et l'on a les sigles HTA—SMHA—SMHTA ou B à traduire par Heraclea Thracium ou Sacra Moneta Heracleae ou Heracleae Thracium, officines A ou B. Il y eut peut-être d'autres officines ouvertes que les officines A et B à Héraclée de Thrace pendant la guerre de 314. Banduri indique en effet l'officine € comme celle d'une pièce des deux Licinius frappée pendant la guerre.

Cette émission est composée des mêmes *folles* que la précédente.

- I. *Au revers*.—IOVI · CONSERVATORI · AVG. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

*Au droit.*—IMP C VAL · LICIN LICINIVS · P F AVG  
Sa tête laurée à droite Cohen, 91 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série,  
off A ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers*—I · O M · ET · FORT · CONSER · D · D · N · N  
AVG · ET · CAES. (Jovi Optimo Maximo et  
Fortunae Conservatoribus Dominorum Nostro-  
rum Augusti et Caesaris); et comme type,  
Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté  
sur l'épaule, tenant un globe surmonté d'une  
Victoire et un sceptre, en face de la Fortune  
debout tourelée qui tient une corne d'abondance  
et un gouvernail posé sur un globe.

*Au droit*—D · D · N · N IOVII · LICINII · INVICT · AVG  
ET · CAES. Bustes laurés et en regard des  
deux Licinius, soutenant ensemble une statue  
de la Fortune. Cohen, tome vii p. 210 ; 2<sup>me</sup>  
série, off. A, Voetter

III. *Au revers.*—I O M ET VIRTVTI D D · N · N · AVG  
ET · CAES Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le  
manteau rejeté sur l'épaule gauche et tenant  
un sceptre ; à coté de lui un trophée au pied  
duquel sont deux captifs.

*Au droit.*—Même légende du droit. Bustes semblables  
des deux Licinius mais soutenant ensemble  
un trophée orné de boucliers. Cohen, tome  
vii. p. 211 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A ; H Mus. V. ;  
3<sup>me</sup> série, off A, Fr. 14343 ; 3 gr. 60 c. ;  
0·022 m.m. [Pl. VI., No. 5, effigies des deux  
Licinius] ; off. €. Banduri, supplément par  
Tanini, p. 257, les deux bustes au droit sou-  
tenant une Victoire.

La pièce d'or suivante est classée dans cette émission  
par son exergue qui est celui de la troisième série et qui  
ne parut pas plus tôt ; mais le chiffre des vœux qui sont  
inscrits sur cette monnaie est celui qui fut compté à  
partir de l'année 313 dans les états de Licinius. En effet  
c'est en cette année que cet empereur accomplit ses  
quinquennalia (ayant été élu en 308) et qu'on lui  
souhaita pour l'avenir ses Vota X, suivant la formule

VOTIS . V. MVLTVS X Cette formule dut être reproduite sur les monnaies jusqu'à l'année de l'accomplissement des Decennalia de l'empereur (318), ou seulement jusqu'à l'année précédente (317), qui fut celle pendant laquelle on célébra peut-être ces Decennalia par anticipation<sup>44</sup> et où on les inscrivit sur les monnaies, sous la forme VOTIS X . MVLTVS XX

On trouve—

IV. *Au revers.*—VOTIS . V . MVLTVS . X. La Victoire debout de face regardant à droite, tenant un bouclier posé sur un cippe; sur le bouclier on lit. VICTORIA AVG Il est à remarquer que l'Auguste désigné est au singulier

*Au droit.*—LICINIVS . AVGVSTVS Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 204; pièce d'or; Br. Mus.

## DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis la prise en commun du consulat par Constantin et Licinius, le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 315, jusqu'à la reconnaissance des trois Césars dans tout l'empire, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317.*

Cette partie de l'émission qui présente les mêmes séries d'exergues que la première est caractérisée par la reprise de la frappe des monnaies de Constantin et la réouverture de cinq officines dans l'atelier. L'on émit pour la première fois en 315–316 les pièces portant les légendes *Providentiae Augg.* et *Providentiae Caess.* autour d'une porte de camp, mais cette porte de camp est surmontée de trois tourelles tandis que celle que l'on représenta sur toutes les monnaies de l'empire de 324 à 326 est surmontée de deux tours

<sup>44</sup> St. Jérôme indique la double célébration des anniversaires pour Constantin (Hieronymi Chronicon, anno 2342, et Eusèbe, *Vita Constantini III*, 14 et 15). L'on en trouve l'indication dans la Chronique Paschale et Idace En était-il de même pour Licinius?

entre lesquelles se trouve une étoile. Ce dernier type fut envoyé par la chancellerie de Constantin, après la guerre de 324, dans tous les ateliers de l'empire unifié. Quant au premier il n'était paru que sur les monnaies des deux ateliers voisins de Nicomédie et d'Héraclée de Thrace, sous le règne de Licinius.<sup>45</sup> Les pièces qui vont être décrites présentent encore les séries d'exergues qui ont été signalés dans la description de la première partie de l'émission; il faut y ajouter une série nouvelle représentant des points comme différents monétaires. Cette deuxième partie de l'émission est caractérisée également par les titres, noms et prénoms que reçut à cette époque le jeune Licinius II sur les monnaies de divers ateliers d'Orient appartenant à son père de 314 à 317.

Ce sont les suivants: D(ominus) N(oster) Val(erius) Const(antinus)<sup>46</sup> Licinius Nob(ilissimus) C(aesar).

A partir du 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317 au contraire, Licinius II fut désigné sur les monnaies de tous les ateliers de l'empire de la façon suivante: D(ominus) N(oster) Val(erius) Licin(ianus) Licinius Jun(ior) Nob(ilissimus) C(aesar). Le prénom de Constantinus, que Licinius semble avoir donné à son fils intentionnellement après la guerre de 314 en l'empruntant à l'empereur Constantin, disparut de la liste de ses noms antérieurement au 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317; ce fut à partir de cette date au contraire qu'il porta le nom de Licinianus qu'il tenait de son père.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> C'est pourquoi ces monnaies sont beaucoup plus rares. On trouve dans Cohen comme pièces présentant ce type le No 459 de Constantin I, le No. 167 de Constantin II, les Nos. 145 à 178 de Licinius empereur, et les Nos. 41 à 44 de Licinius II. Les pièces de Crispus sont mal décrites dans Cohen.

<sup>46</sup> On trouve quelquefois *Constantinus*, sans abréviation. J Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie, Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 126

<sup>47</sup> Voir dans la même étude (pp. 129 à 131) les raisons probables de la conduite de Licinius

Il semble qu'un accord dut intervenir entre les chancelleries de Constantin et de Licinius car, à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317, les trois Césars reçurent les mêmes noms dans les différentes parties de l'empire.

EXERGUES DE LA 2<sup>me</sup> PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Première série :

$\frac{|}{\text{HTA}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{HTB}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{HTT}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{HTA}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{HTÉ}}$

Deuxième série :

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHB}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHT}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHE}}$

Troisième série :

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}} \bullet$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHB}} \bullet$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHT}} \bullet$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}} \bullet$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHE}} \bullet$

Quatrième série :

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHTA}}$

$\frac{|}{\text{SMHTB}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG . N . N Porte de camp ouverte au milieu et surmontée de trois tourelles.

*Au droit*.—IMP . LICINIVS . AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche et tenant de la gauche un globe et un sceptre sur l'épaule et de la droite le foudre. Pièce inédite. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B, Voetter.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG. Même type du revers.

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP . LICINIVS . AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche, tenant de la gauche un globe et un sceptre sur l'épaule et de la droite le foudre. Cohen, 145 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—T—Δ—E ; Fr. 14251-3 ; 3 gr., et 0.018 m.m. ; et 2 gr. 80 c. ; Voetter.

2°. IMP CONSTANTINVS . AVG. Buste analogue à gauche. Cohen, 459 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. B ; Musée de Turin ; Voetter.

Ces trois pièces continuèrent à être émises au cours de l'émission suivante, mais la première série d'exergues ne fut plus inscrite sur les monnaies après le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317.

III. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE . CAESS. avec la même porte de camp surmontée de trois tourelles.

*Au droit*.—D N . VAL . CONST . LICINVS NOB . C.  
Buste analogue au précédent. Pièce inédite.  
3<sup>me</sup> série, off. Δ ; Voetter.

Il est probable que des pièces de Crispus et de Constantin II ont été frappées à Héraclée de Thrace comme à Nicomédie<sup>48</sup> après la guerre de 314, mais je ne les ai pas rencontrées. Les monnaies de Nicomédie émises à cette époque sont caractérisées par des légendes du droit fautives ; par des omissions ou des changements de lettres. Mais peut-être la désorganisation du travail que l'on constate à Nicomédie ne s'est-elle pas produite dans l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace. Je n'ai pas rencontré de monnaies de cet atelier qui présentassent des légendes incorrectes comme les suivantes que l'on trouve sur les pièces de Nicomédie : FL . VN . CRISPVS . NO . CAS ; ou encore FL . CL . CONSTANTINVS . NOV. CS.<sup>49</sup>

La pièce d'or suivante est classée dans cette émission par son exergue.

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI . CONSERVATORI AVGG. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une

<sup>48</sup> J'ai décrit ces pièces présentant des légendes des droits irrégulières dans mon étude sur l'atelier de Nicomédie dans la *Num. Chron.*, 1903, pp 247-248

<sup>49</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Nicomédie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1903, p. 248.

Victoire et appuyé sur un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

*Au droit.*—CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 296 ; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. B ; exergue déjà inscrite sur les pièces de la 1<sup>re</sup> partie de l'émission et qui ne parut plus à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317. Musée Brera, No. 7324.

### SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis la date de la reconnaissance des trois Césars, Crispus, Constantin II, et Licinius II dans tout l'empire, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317 ; signalée par la frappe de leurs monnaies dans tous les ateliers de Constantin et de Licinius ; jusqu'à l'accomplissement, le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 320, des Vota V des Césars.*

Cette émission se distingue en effet de la précédente par l'uniformité des légendes monétaires aux noms des Augustes et Césars que l'on inscrivit à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 317 sur les monnaies des deux empires d'Orient et d'Occident.<sup>50</sup>

Elle est en outre caractérisée par tout un ensemble d'exergues, et se distingue de l'émission suivante parce qu'elle fut frappée dans cinq officines, tandis que l'officine e fut fermée de 320 à 324. Une diminution du nombre des officines se fait également remarquer sur les monnaies de Nicomédie et d'Antioche frappées de 320 à 324 sans

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<sup>50</sup> Crispus porte fréquemment les noms de FL IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. ou simplement CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. ; Constantin II, ceux de FL CL . CONSTANTINVS . NOB . CAES ou de CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . CAES. ; Licinius II, ceux de VAL . LICIN(ianus) LICINIVS . NOB . CAES. ou LICINIVS IVN . NOB . CAES.—Tous trois reçoivent parfois le titre de Dominus Noster = D . N . Il existe de très nombreuses variantes de ces légendes, c'est-à-dire des abréviations différentes des prénoms ou titres des empereurs.



qu'on en puisse découvrir la raison ;<sup>51</sup> mais ce fait suffit pour distinguer les émissions.

Le poids moyen des petites monnaies de bronze qui était, avant la guerre de 314, de 3 gr. 60 c., tombe aux environs de 3 gr. Il est important de constater que Licinius n'adopta pas les réformes monétaires de Constantin.<sup>52</sup> En effet tandis que ce dernier empereur créait en 309 et faisait frapper à partir de cette date presque exclusivement le *solidus* ou le soixante douzième à la livre d'or dans ses états ;<sup>53</sup> Licinius continua à faire émettre jusqu'en 324 une pièce d'or qui est le soixantième de la livre.<sup>54</sup> De même après la guerre de 314, Constantin créa une nouvelle espèce de bronze, le *nummus centenionalis*, qui fut exclusivement frappée à partir de cette date dans tous ses ateliers ;<sup>55</sup> le poids moyen de ces pièces nouvelles très régulièrement maintenu pendant plus de dix ans, fut de 3 gr. 50 c. Ce n'était pas le poids des monnaies émises dans les états de Licinius dont le poids moyen tomba bientôt à 3 gr. et à 2 gr. 60 c. Ce fut sur ces petits *folles* que fut marqué de 320 à 324 un signe spécial

<sup>51</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, pp. 230 et 231.

<sup>52</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Nicomédie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1903, pp. 252 et 253. J'ai intitulé · Deuxième série dans l'émission de 317 à 324, ce qui constitue en réalité une deuxième émission puisque le nombre des officines n'est plus le même que dans la première série.

<sup>53</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1900, p. 282, et *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves* ; *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, p. 155. Ce sont les monnaies d'or frappées dans ces deux ateliers qui mettent particulièrement en lumière le fait de la création du *solidus* par Constantin en 309.

<sup>54</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Nicomédie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1903, pp. 254-255, pièces pesant 5 gr. 25 c. et 5 gr. 30 c.

<sup>55</sup> Voir pour Trèves, Rome, Tarragone, Londres, Siscia, Thessalonica, mes études sur ses ateliers, *Mémoires des Antiquaires*, 1902 ; *Revue Numismatique*, 1899-1900 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1900, et *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1901.

de valeur  $\frac{x}{117}$ . Il n'y eut donc pas entente entre les empires d'Orient et d'Occident jusqu'en 324 ; relativement à l'émission des espèces monétaires. Licinius avait conservé toutes les traditions de Dioclétien et notamment son système de poids et mesures. Son administration des monnaies n'avait que des rapports restreints avec celle de Constantin, et les échanges d'effigies impériales même n'avaient pas lieu entre les différentes parties de l'empire.

Les corégents ne faisaient pas émettre les mêmes espèces monétaires, mais ils avaient intérêt à avoir des espèces voisines qui pussent s'échanger entre elles, et celui qui émettait des pièces de valeur légèrement inférieure à celles de l'autre empereur devait faire bénéficier son gouvernement de la différence de valeur des monnaies. Ainsi Licinius avait avantage à émettre une petite pièce de bronze d'un poids et d'une valeur légèrement inférieurs à ceux du *nummus centenionalis* de Constantin. On se servait sans doute de la balance pour les échanges importants de pièces d'or ; et le système de Dioclétien persista pour les pièces d'argent jusqu'à la création du *miliarense* et de la *silique* d'argent par Constantin, mais ces réformes n'eurent lieu qu'en 324 après la chute de Licinius.<sup>56</sup>

Les diverses séries d'exergues de l'émission peuvent se réunir en deux groupes qui présentent l'un ou l'autre des deux exergues suivants :—

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{MHTA} \end{array} \text{—} \epsilon \quad \text{et} \quad \begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHA} \end{array} \text{—} \epsilon$$

Les diverses séries ne diffèrent entre elles que par des points placés aux exergues ou dans le champ des monnaies.

<sup>56</sup> J. Maurico, *L'Atelier monétaire de Sirmium, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, vol. vi, 1904 (Roma), p. 249.

## PREMIER GROUPE.

Première série :

$\frac{ }{\text{MHTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHTB}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\Gamma}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\epsilon}$
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Variété de cette série :

$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{MHTA}}$ à	$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{MHT}\epsilon}$
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Deuxième série :

$\frac{ }{\text{MHTA}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHTB}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\Gamma\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\Delta\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{MHT}\epsilon\bullet}$
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Troisième série :

$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHTA}}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHTB}}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\Gamma}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\epsilon}$
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Quatrième série :

$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHTA}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHTB}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\Gamma\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\Delta\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{MHT}\epsilon\bullet}$
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## DEUXIÈME GROUPE.

Cinquième série :

$\frac{ }{\text{SMHA}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMHB}}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\epsilon}$
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Variété de cette série :

$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{SMHA}}$ à	$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{SMH}\epsilon}$
------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------

Sixième série :

$\frac{ }{\text{SMHA}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMHB}\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\Gamma\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\Delta\bullet}$	$\frac{ }{\text{SMH}\epsilon\bullet}$
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Septième série :

$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{SMHA}}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{SMHB}}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{SMH}\Gamma}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{SMH}\Delta}$	$\frac{ }{\bullet\text{SMH}\epsilon}$
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## Huitième série :

## Neuvième série :

## On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE · AVGG. Avec la porte de camp ouverte au milieu et surmontée de trois tourelles.

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP LICINIVS AVG Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche, tenant de la gauche un globe et un sceptre sur l'épaule, et de la droite le foudre. Cohen, 145; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ; Fr. 14255-7; 2 gr. 95 c.; 0·021 m.m.; H. Mus. V.; variété avec la lettre A dans le champ; Voetter; 8<sup>me</sup> et 9<sup>me</sup> séries, off. A; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 6, effigie de Licinius].

2°. Même légende et même buste mais à droite. Cohen, 146, 5<sup>me</sup> série, variété avec la lettre A dans le champ; off. A—B; Fr. 14258-9; 3 gr. 10 c; 0·019 m.m.; Voetter.

3°. IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Buste analogue mais à gauche. Cohen, 459; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. B; H. Mus. V.; et variété avec la lettre A dans le champ; Fr. 14846; 5<sup>me</sup>, 7<sup>me</sup>, 8<sup>me</sup>, et 9<sup>me</sup> séries, off. B; Voetter.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE · CAESS. Avec le même type du revers.

*Au droit*.—1°. D · N · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · NOB · C. (*Dominus Noster Valerius Licinianus Licinius Nobilissimus Caesar*). Buste analogue. Cohen, 41; 1<sup>ère</sup> série; Fr. 14416, 1<sup>ère</sup>, 2<sup>me</sup>, 3<sup>me</sup> et 5<sup>me</sup> séries. [Pl. VI., No. 7, effigie de Licinius II.] Voetter et Musée de Turin; 7<sup>me</sup> série; Fr. 14417, et 9<sup>me</sup> série; Voetter; toutes les séries, off. Δ; variété de la 5<sup>me</sup> série avec la lettre A dans le champ, off. Γ; Berlin.

2°. D · N · FL · IVL · CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Buste analogue. Pièce inédite; 1<sup>re</sup> série; FR. 15476; 2 gr. 60 c.; 0·017 m.m.; Voetter; 4<sup>me</sup> et 5<sup>me</sup> séries, FR. 15477; Voetter; 8<sup>me</sup> série, BR. MUS.; Voetter; 9<sup>me</sup> série, Voetter; toutes les séries, off. Γ.

3°. D · N · FL · CL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C Buste analogue Cohen, 167; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. €; BR. MUS.; FR. 15806; 3 gr. 20 c.; 0·019 m.m. [Pl. VI, No. 8, effigie de Licinius II]; 4<sup>me</sup>, 5<sup>me</sup>, et 7<sup>me</sup> séries, off. €; Voetter; 8<sup>me</sup> et 9<sup>me</sup> séries, off. A et €; Voetter.

4°. D · N · CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB · CAES. Même buste. Pièce inédite; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. €; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. A et €; coll. Gnechi.

5°. CONSTANTINVS IVN · NOB · C Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 165; indiqué dans Banduri, supplément par Tanini, p. 289.

III. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI · AVGG. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et appuyé sur un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

*Au droit*.—IMP · C · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à gauche; pièce décrite dans Banduri, supplément par Tanini, p. 256; 5<sup>me</sup> série, variété avec la lettre A dans le champ, off. Γ.

Les monnaies de Licinius père, seules, portent les lettres de toutes les officines. Les monnaies de Constantin le Grand sont presque exclusivement frappées dans l'officine B, celles de Crispus dans l'officine Γ, celles de Licinius II dans l'officine Δ et, celles de Constantin II dans l'officine €.

Les pièces d'or suivantes ont été frappées dans l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace, au cours de l'émission qui vient

d'être décrite et ont du continuer à l'être au cours de la suivante.

En effet Licinius qui avait été créé Auguste par Galère en 308 célébra ses Decennalia dès l'année 318, et peut-être dès 317 par anticipation d'un an. Dès lors, en constatant l'accomplissement de ces Vota X, on lui souhaita les Vota XX, par les sigles SIC · X · SIC · XX, ou VOT · X MVL · XX.<sup>57</sup>

Les mêmes chiffres se trouvent au revers de pièces analogues de Licinius et de Constantin. C'est une confirmation de la règle que j'ai indiquée dans l'étude des ateliers de Constantin; à savoir que les empereurs co-régents de cette époque se prêtaient sur les monnaies qu'ils faisaient frapper à leurs noms respectifs les chiffres de leur Vota, c'est-à-dire que Constantin attribua à Licinius ses propres Vota XX sur des pièces frappées au nom de Licinius dans ses états; et que Licinius prêta ses Vota X Multa XX à Constantin sur des monnaies frappées au nom de cet empereur dans ses propres ateliers.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—SIC · X · SIC · XX dans une triple couronne de perles; un aigle repose en haut sur la couronne. L'exergue SMHB (Sacra Moneta Heracleae, off. B) se trouve également à l'intérieur de la couronne en dessous de l'indication des Vota.

*Au droit*.—1°. LICINIVS · AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 158; Fr. 1508; 4 gr. 80 c.; 0·019 m.m.; pièce de l'espèce du 60<sup>me</sup> à la livre d'or.

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<sup>57</sup> J'ai décrit dans une étude sur L'Atelier monétaire de Nicomédie (*Num Chron*, 1903, pp 254 à 257) une série de pièces portant l'inscription de ces Vota soluta et suscepta ou multa. Dans les états de Constantin, les Vota XX de Licinius furent frappés avec ceux de Constantin régulièrement à partir de 320 et non plus tôt. Cf. J Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1900, notamment, p. 302, et *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 336.

2°. CONSTANTINVS · MAX AVG Son buste diadémé(?) et drapé, selon Tanini, qui décrit cette pièce comme se trouvant dans le Musée Hunter.

*Au revers.*—L'exergue serait HB et non SMHB; et il y aurait une quadruple couronne de perles.

La description du droit de cette pièce est certainement fautive, car Constantin ne porta le diadème qu'après la guerre de 324. La couronne de laurier a souvent été confondue avec le diadème. L'émission de cette pièce ne peut être reculée après la guerre de 324, car l'on n'inscrivit pas les Vota X de Constantin sur les monnaies après la défaite de Licinius. Il faut admettre que Tanini a pris la couronne de laurier pour le diadème.

### HUITIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis le printemps de 320, jusqu'à l'élévation de Constantius II César le 8 Novembre 324.*

En effet cette émission, distincte de la précédente par la fermeture de la cinquième officine, correspond à celles des ateliers d'Occident qui débutent par la frappe des monnaies portant en inscription les Vota V des Césars. Ces pièces furent émises à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 320, date des quinquennalia des Césars anticipés d'un an.<sup>58</sup>

Les légendes inscrites au revers des monnaies des ateliers d'Occident sont des légendes symboliques. Les *Victoriae Laetae Principis Perpetuae* symbolisent la victoire qui accompagne l'empereur; les *Virtus Exercitus*, la valeur de l'armée; les *Beata Tranquillitas*, la paix de l'empire; ce symbolisme vague n'a plus de caractère

<sup>58</sup> Sur cette anticipation d'un an de la célébration des anniversaires impériaux, voir O. Seeck, *Die Zeitfolge der Gesetze Constantins* dans la *Zeitsch. d. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch.* (Rom.), Abth., x. p. 186.

païen bien déterminé. Les légendes inscrites sur les monnaies des ateliers d'Orient ont au contraire ce caractère païen. Les *Jovi Conservatori* expriment la descendance même de l'empereur.

Les monnaies sur lesquelles on lit cette légende portent une marque de valeur particulière. C'est une inscription en deux lignes  $\frac{X}{III}$ , placée dans le champ du revers à droite. Mommsen, dans *l'Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*,<sup>59</sup> lut cette inscription comme si elle était écrite sur une seule ligne, et donnant au signe  $\tau$  le sens de s, il obtint la lecture 12½, dont l'on ne comprend pas le sens ; le Commandant Mowat fit remarquer dans une communication à *l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*,<sup>60</sup> qu'il y avait toute raison de lire séparément les deux lignes. Il obtint ainsi X et III. En considérant la lettre  $\tau$  comme l'équivalent de s, il obtint le signe habituel du Sesterce ou IIIS, et il proposa de lire le chiffre X comme l'indication de la dixième partie, *decima pars Sestertii*. Je dois renvoyer au travail du savant numismate pour la discussion des arguments qui plaident en faveur de sa manière de voir. Je ferai seulement remarquer que les poids de ces pièces oscillent de 2 gr. 50 c. à 3 gr. 10 c., et que leur poids moyen est supérieur à celui du quadrans ou dixième partie du sesterce, qui est de 2 gr. 30 c. D'autre part M. Babelon a assimilé cette espèce monétaire au *denarius communis* de Dioclétien, et cette assimilation est d'autant plus vraisemblable que de petits bronzes frappés à Alexandrie en 306, et présentant au droit les

<sup>59</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine* (traduction de Blacas), tome iii. p. 88.

<sup>60</sup> R. Mowat, *Explication d'une marque monétaire du temps de Constantin*, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, d'Octobre, 1886.



têtes radiées d'empereurs et qui ont des poids oscillant de 2 gr. 80 c. à 3 gr. 60 c. Ces petites pièces émises aussitôt après l'abdication de Dioclétien sont évidemment de l'espèce du *denarius communis*, telle qu'elle a été définie par M. Babelon.<sup>61</sup>

Il est surtout important de remarquer que l'empereur d'Orient n'avait pas adopté les réformes monétaires de Constantin, et que l'on continua à se servir en Orient jusqu'à la chute de Licinius en 324, des espèces monétaires du système de Dioclétien.<sup>62</sup>

## PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

 — SMHA	 — SMHB	 — SMHT	 — SMHA
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## DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

X   — SMHA	X   — SMHB	X   — SMHT	X   — SMHA
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## TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

 — SMHA●	 — SMHB●	 — SMHT●	 — SMHA●
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## QUATRIÈME SÉRIE :

●   — SMHA	●   — SMHB	●   — SMHT	●   — SMHA
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## CINQUIÈME SÉRIE :

* — SMHA	* — SMHB	* — SMHT	* — SMHA
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<sup>61</sup> E Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, tome i. pp 611-612. Le *Denarius Communis* sous Dioclétien pesait de 4 gr 60 c à 3 gr. 75 c., mais cette espèce monétaire subit des réductions de poids comme toutes les autres.

<sup>62</sup> M Mowat fait remarquer que le compte par Sesterce était encore employé en 296 en Gaule, ainsi qu'en témoigne le *Panégyrique d'Émène*, xi 14 *pro Instaurandis Scholis* prononcé à cette date à Autun.

La cinquième série d'exergues ne fut probablement inscrite sur les monnaies qu'à partir de 324.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers* —IOVI · CONSERVATORI Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle qui tient une couronne; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant également une couronne en son bec et à droite un captif assis. L'on trouve souvent dans le champ à droite le sigle  $\frac{X}{\text{III}}$ , qui caractérise la 2<sup>me</sup> série de cette émission.

*Au droit*.—1°. IMP · C VAL · LICIN LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Son buste radié, drapé, et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 74; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

2°. IMP C · FL · VAL CONSTANTINVS · P F · AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, 292; 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries, off. B—Γ; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

3°. D · N · VAL LICIN LICINIVS NOB · C Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, 21; 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries, off. A—B—Γ—Δ; Br. Mus.; Voetter; Fr. 14380-2; poids 2 gr. 95 c et 3 gr. 0 05 c.; diamètre 0·021 m.m. [Pl. VI., No. 9, effigie de Licinius.]

4°. D N FL IVL · CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 77; 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries, off. Γ; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

5°. D · N · FL · CL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C. Buste analogue. Cohen, 133; 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries, off. A—Γ—Δ; Musée de Turin; Voetter.

Ces pièces ont été frappées très abondamment dans tous les ateliers de l'empire d'Orient. Elles sont très communes dans les collections.

*Pièces frappées après la prise de l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace par Constantin.*

Les monnaies suivantes présentent toutes, la première, la troisième, et la cinquième séries d'exergues qui ont continués à être inscrits sur les monnaies au cours de l'émission suivante. Leurs trois légendes du revers n'ont pas été frappées aux noms des deux Licinius père et fils qui régnaient encore mais qui n'étaient plus reconnus à Héraclée de Thrace lorsque parurent ces monnaies.

On trouve—

II. *Au revers.*—DOMINOR NOSTROR · CAESS. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT · V.

*Au droit.*—1°. CRISPVS · NOB · CAES Son buste lauré et drapé à droite, variété de Cohen, 64 ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, avec une étoile dans la couronne au dessous des VOT · V ; off. Γ ; BR. MUS.

2° CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB C Buste analogue. Cohen, 97 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. Γ ; FR. 15659 ; 3 gr. 40 c. ; 0·020 m.m. ; Voetter ; Gneccchi ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Γ, avec l'étoile dans la couronne sous les VOT · V. ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers.*—D N · CONSTANTINI · MAX · AVG Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT · XX

*Au droit.*—CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 123 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Δ ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Δ ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, avec l'étoile dans la couronne sous les VOT · XX. ; Cohen, 127 ; FR. 14559—14562 ; 3 gr. 35 c. ; 0·018 m.m. ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter.

IV. *Au revers.*—DOMINOR · NOSTROR CAESS. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT · X.

*Au droit.*—1°. CRISPVS · NOB CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé, en cuirasse à droite. Cohen, 65 ; 1<sup>re</sup>

série, off B ; Voetter ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, avec l'étoile dans la couronne sous les VOT · X. Cohen, 68 ; off Γ ; Voetter ; BR. MUS.

2°. CONSTANTINVS IVN · NOB C Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 98 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off Γ, Voetter ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, avec l'étoile dans la couronne sous les VOT · X ; Voetter.

Ces monnaies n'ont pas été frappées aux noms des deux Licinius père et fils. Ce fut donc lorsque Constantin se fut emparé de l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace, après sa victoire d'Andrinople sur Licinius le 3 Juillet 324,<sup>63</sup> qu'elles commencèrent à être émises. Constantin dut s'emparer d'Héraclée placée sur la route de Byzance avant d'atteindre cette ville, dont il commença le siège le plus rapidement qu'il put après sa victoire ; mais il ne put passer en Asie qu' environ deux mois plus tard lorsque la mer lui fut ouverte par la victoire navale de Crispus,<sup>64</sup> aussi ne remporta-t-il sa victoire définitive de Chalcédoine sur la rive asiatique que le 18 Septembre 324. Il ne prit qu'ensuite la ville de Nicomédie où se trouvait l'atelier monétaire le plus voisin de celui d'Héraclée de Thrace. Les autres ateliers d'Orient tombèrent encore plus tard dans ses mains. Ces faits expliquent pourquoi celui d'Héraclée fut le seul, parmi ceux dont Constantin s'empara en 324, qui émit les monnaies sur lesquelles sont inscrites les Vota V des Césars. Leurs Vota X furent en effet seuls inscrits sur les pièces de Nicomédie, mais j'ai déjà montré dans

<sup>63</sup> C I. L., 1 p 346 (*Calendrier de Philocalus*) ; *Cod. Theod.*, VII. 20, 1 (privileges accordés aux vétérans après la première victoire de Thrace du cinquième jour des Nones de Juillet)

<sup>64</sup> Voir principalement le récit de Zosime, II. pp. 22 et 23.

une étude sur Siscia<sup>65</sup> que ces Vota ne parurent sur les monnaies que pendant la guerre de 324. Il faut ajouter qu'ils continuèrent à être inscrits sur les monnaies à la fin de cette guerre, lorsque l'atelier de Nicomédie fut tombé au pouvoir de Constantin après la défaite de Chalcédoine, qui est du 18 Septembre 324, tandis que les Vota V des Césars et XX des Augustes ne paraissaient plus. L'atelier de Nicomédie ne reçut plus l'ordre d'inscrire les Vota V des Césars, ordre que l'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace avait encore reçu deux mois plus tôt.<sup>66</sup>

### SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis l'élévation de Constance II au rang de César le 8 Novembre 324,<sup>67</sup> jusqu'à la mort de Fausta qui suivit celle de Crispus en Septembre 326.<sup>68</sup>*

En effet cette émission est caractérisée par la présence des monnaies de Constance II en même temps que par celle des pièces de Crispus et de Fausta. Elle l'est également par l'apparition du diadème sur les bustes de l'impératrice S<sup>te</sup> Hélène, ensuite sur les effigies de Constantin le Grand que l'on trouve sur les pièces d'argent (miliarensia) créées probablement en 325,<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Num Chron.*, 1900, pp. 340 à 342.

<sup>66</sup> Pour la chronologie de l'année 324, je suis les conclusions d'O. Seeck dans *Die Zeitfolge der Gesetze Constantins*, *Zeitschrift f. Savigny-Stiftung*, x pp. 191-195 (Rom), ainsi que dans *Zur Chronologie Constantins*, *Hermès*, 1902, p. 155.

<sup>67</sup> O. I. L., i, p. 256, iii. 3705 De Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.*, vol. ii. p. 668. Article "Constantius II," par Ferrero. Les *Consularia Const.*, indiquent l'année 327.

<sup>68</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 236.

<sup>69</sup> Voir plus loin.

enfin sur les pièces de bronze et d'argent émises pour célébrer l'anniversaire des dix ans (Decennalia) des Césars. Ces pièces sont caractérisées par une disposition spéciale des figures, le regard tourné vers le ciel.<sup>70</sup> C'est l'attitude de la prière et également celle des Divi. Elle fut adoptée lors de la célébration des Decennalia des Césars fils de Constantin, et reproduite ensuite sur les monnaies à tous les anniversaires impériaux importants jusque sous l'empereur Julien. Cette attitude religieuse des figures ne se montra qu'après le Concile de Nicée en 325 et 326 sur ces pièces dont les premières furent émises lors de la célébration par anticipation d'un an des anniversaires impériaux (Decennalia des Césars ou Vicennalia de Constantin).<sup>71</sup> Cette disposition des figures doit être celle à laquelle Eusèbe fait allusion dans la vie de Constantin, lorsqu'il dit que cet empereur se fit représenter dans l'attitude de la prière, le visage tourné vers le ciel;<sup>72</sup> mais Eusèbe n'a fait cette remarque que à l'égard des pièces d'or, tandis qu'on trouve les mêmes effigies sur celles de bronze et d'argent. Une autre observation à faire sur les pièces de bronze qui présentent au revers la légende *Providentiae Augg.*, c'est

<sup>70</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, Num. Chron., 1903, pp. 273-274.

<sup>71</sup> Le Concile de Nicée et la victoire du christianisme durent être les motifs déterminants de Constantin. La date de l'émission de ces monnaies semble le prouver, mais l'expression religieuse de ces pièces n'est pas absolument nouvelle, puisque l'on trouve des bustes de Divi avec le regard tourné en haut. C'est sans doute pour cette raison que Julien fit encore frapper des monnaies analogues.

<sup>72</sup> Sa description est en effet la peinture de la réalité. Cf. Eusèbe, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 15. "ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ὧδε γράφεσθαι διετύπου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀπατεταμένος πρὸς θεὸν, τρόπον εὐχομένου." Tous les types de ces monnaies existent d'ailleurs en pièces d'or. Cf. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Nicomédie*, Num. Chron., 1903, p. 275.

que celles de ces pièces qui sont sorties des ateliers de Nicomédie, d'Antioche et de Cyzique présentent toutes des têtes ou des bustes diadémés de Constantin le Grand au droit, tandis que l'on trouve sur les pièces sorties des autres ateliers des têtes ou bustes laurés ou casqués de cet empereur. Pour expliquer ce fait il faut tenir compte de ce que Constantin séjourna en Asie pendant un an après la conquête de l'Orient ;<sup>73</sup> de telle sorte que lorsque la guerre de 324 fut terminée, et qu'il adopta pour lui-même le diadème, symbole de la monarchie orientale, sa chancellerie dut d'abord envoyer l'ordre d'en décorer l'effigie impériale aux trois ateliers d'Orient, Antioche, Cyzique et Nicomédie, placés plus directement sous ses ordres. Ce ne fut en conséquence que lorsque l'expérience d'un tel changement dans les mœurs romaines eut été tentée en Orient que l'on commença à frapper dans les ateliers d'Occident des monnaies sur lesquelles l'effigie de Constantin était diadmée. Il n'en fut pas de même pour l'impératrice S<sup>te</sup> Hélène, dont toutes les effigies furent diadmées sur les monnaies de tous les ateliers, mais il devait être moins contraire aux idées romaines de voir l'impératrice diadmée que l'empereur. Plusieurs impératrices avaient porté un croissant, qui ressemblait au diadème, avant S<sup>te</sup> Hélène ;<sup>74</sup> et d'autre part l'Orient avait déjà vu les monnaies de Caracalla diadmé frappées à Tarse, mais ainsi que l'a fait observer M. Saglio,

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<sup>73</sup> O. Seeck, *Die Zeitfolge der Gesetze Constantins*, *Zeitsch. f. Rechtsgeschichte Rom.*, Abth., x., pp. 232 et 233. La succession des lois datées de Nicomédie, de Nicée, et de Nassete près de Nicomédie jusqu'au 25 Octobre 325 époque où Constantin arriva seulement à Héraclée de Thrace, est tout-à-fait probante.

<sup>74</sup> On peut citer en remontant la série chronologique Galérie Valérie, Magnia Urbica, Zénobie, Séverine, etc.

jamais en Occident cet empereur n'adopta ni en réalité, ni dans ses effigies un pareil insigne.<sup>75</sup>

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de l'espèce du *Nummus Centenionalis*, dont le poids moyen est de 3 gr. 50 c. ; espèce universellement émise dans les états de Constantin. L'on frappa en 326 des pièces de bronze d'un poids réduit à la moyenne de 2 gr. 50 c.

L'espèce d'argent appelée *miliarense* d'un poids moyen de 4 gr. 55 c., d'un diamètre moyen de 0 023 à 0 024 millimètres, et la *silique* du poids moyen de 2 gr. 60 c. furent frappées également au cours de cette émission.

#### PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

SMHA SMHB SMHΓ SMHΔ SMHΕ

#### DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

SMHA• SMHB• SMHΓ• SMHΔ• SMHΕ•

#### TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

•SMHA •SMHB •SMHΓ •SMHΔ •SMHΕ

#### QUATRIÈME SÉRIE :

•SMHA• •SMHB• •SMHΓ• •SMHΔ• •SMHΕ•

#### CINQUIÈME SÉRIE :

• SMHA • SMHB • SMHΓ • SMHΔ • SMHΕ

<sup>75</sup> *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, par Daremberg et Saglio, tome ii. p. 120, article (Diadema) par E. Saglio.



## SIXIÈME SÉRIE :

*SMHA	*SMHB	*SMHΓ	*SMHΔ	*SMHΕ
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## SEPTIÈME SÉRIE :

* SMHA	* SMHB	* SMHΓ	* SMHΔ	* SMHΕ
*   SMHA	*   SMHB	*   SMHΓ	*   SMHΔ	*   SMHΕ
* SMHA	* SMHB	* SMHΓ	* SMHΔ	* SMHΕ

Le point et l'étoile sont les différents monétaires dont le nombre et les positions permettent de distinguer les séries de monnaies, mais la septième série présente des étoiles diversement placées dans le champ du revers des pièces en raison simplement de la place disponible.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Porte de camp ouverte au milieu, surmontée de deux tours ; au dessus une étoile.<sup>76</sup>

*Au droit*.—IMP · CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Son buste lauré à gauche avec le manteau impérial, tenant le foudre de la droite et un globe et un sceptre de la gauche. Cohen, 457.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE · CAESS · avec le même type du revers.

*Au droit*.—1°. CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 116. 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries ; FR. 15478, 15480. [Pl. VI., 10, effigie de Crispus] ; off. Γ, rarement Δ ; BR. Mus. ; Voetter.

<sup>76</sup> Cette porte de camp diffère de celle qui était frappée sur les monnaies d'Héraclée de Thrace avant la guerre de 324, en ce qu'on y remarque une étoile et deux tours au lieu de trois tourelles au dessus de la porte (p. 144).

2°. CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB · C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 164 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε 1<sup>ère</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> séries ; FR. 15771 ; 3 gr. 40 c. ; 15773 ; 3 gr. 50 c. ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter, 5<sup>me</sup> série, FR. 15772, 15774 ; Voetter ; 7<sup>me</sup> série, étoile à gauche ; Voetter.

3°. FL · IVL · CONSTANTIVS · NOB C. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 167 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε. 1<sup>ère</sup> série ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter ; 2<sup>me</sup> série ; FR. 16249 ; 2 gr. 90 c. ; 0-018 m.m. ; BR. MUS., 4<sup>me</sup> série ; Voetter ; 7<sup>me</sup> série, étoile à gauche ; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 11, effigie de Constance II.]

III. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS · REIPVBLICE (*sic*). La Sécurité voilée debout à gauche, tenant un rameau baissé et soutenant sa robe.

*Au droit*.—FL · HELENA · AVGVSTA Son buste à droite, drapé, et portant un diadème orné de perles et un collier formé de deux rangs de perles ; Cohen, 12 et 13 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. B—Δ—Ε ; FR. 13902 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Ε ; Mowat ; Voetter ; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. B—Ε, Voetter ; 7<sup>me</sup> série, l'étoile à gauche, off. Ε ; FR 13903.

IV. *Au revers*—SPES REIPVBLICAE. Fausta debout de face regardant à gauche et tenant deux enfants dans ses bras<sup>77</sup>

*Au droit*.—FLAV · MAX · FAVSTA AVG. Son buste en cheveux et drapé à droite Cohen, 15 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> série, off. Δ—Ε ; Voetter ; H. MUS. V. ; 2<sup>me</sup> série ; Voetter.

Les Vota XXX de Constantin le Grand furent inscrits sur ses monnaies à partir de l'accomplissement de ses Vota XX en 326, et peut-être même dès la première célébration de ces Vota en 325. C'est ce qui fait que l'on trouve les Vota XX inscrits sur les

<sup>77</sup> Ces enfants sont des personnages symboliques. Ils représentent la fécondité de l'impératrice, mais ne sont nullement des enfants d'un âge déterminé.

pièces de Constantin sorties d'ateliers qui fermèrent en 326, comme ceux de Tarragone<sup>78</sup> et d'Aquilée. On lit notamment sur un miliarense, pièce d'argent, frappée à Aquilée en 325-325 l'inscription suivante en légende du revers, VOTA · ORBIS · ET · VRBIS · SEN · ET · P · R · et sur un cippe placé au milieu du champ XX · XXX · AVG.<sup>79</sup>

Les pièces qui vont être décrites furent donc émises en 325 et 326 ; elles présentent des têtes diadémées de tous les empereurs alors régnants.

V. *Au revers*.—D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT XXX.

*Au droit*.—1°. CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Sa tête diadémée à droite, le regard dirigé vers le ciel. Cohen, 130 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> et 2<sup>ème</sup> séries, off. A—B—Γ—Δ ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter ; 3<sup>ème</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ ; FR. 14568-70 ; Voetter.

2°. Même droit mais avec sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 129 ; 1<sup>ère</sup> et 2<sup>ème</sup> séries, off. A—B—Γ—Δ, FR. 14566-7 ; Voetter ; variété avec SMH · A · — SMH · B ; Voetter.

3°. CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG. Son buste diadéme et drapé à droite. Cohen, 131, 3<sup>ème</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ ; FR. 14571 ; Voetter ; BR. MUS. ; 6<sup>ème</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε ; Voetter.

VI. *Au revers* —CRISPVS · CAESAR · SMHB en trois lignes dans le champ ; une étoile au dessus.

*Au droit*.—1°. Sans légende. Buste diadéme et cuirassé de Crispus à gauche. Cohen, 60. L'étoile dans le champ est celle de la 7<sup>ème</sup> série, off. B ; Voetter.

<sup>78</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1900, pp. 285 et 290.

<sup>79</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Aquilée*, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1901, p. 317.

VII. On doit sans doute classer ici la pièce de CONSTANTINVS CAESAR. Cohen, 86; mais avec l'exergue d'Héraclée au lieu de celui de Siscia. Au droit, sans légende, buste de Constantin II diadémé et cuirassé à gauche.

VIII. Il doit exister une pièce analogue de Constance II.

Une série complète de pièces analogues présentant au revers les inscriptions des noms des empereurs, ainsi que de ceux de Fausta et de Helena, fut émise à Antioche<sup>80</sup> à la même époque. Ces petites monnaies de bronze pèsent de 2 gr. 10 c à 2 gr. 50 c. au lieu du poids moyen de 3 gr. 50 c., qui est celui des autres monnaies de bronze de l'émission présente. Cet abaissement du poids des petites monnaies de bronze eut lieu pour la première fois en 325-326, mais en 330 la monnaie de bronze du poids moyen de 3 gr. 50 c. cessa complètement d'être frappée. Les pièces qui présentent au revers GLORIA · EXERCITVS ne pèsent plus également que 2 gr. 50 c. Il ne semble pas qu'il s'agisse de la création d'une nouvelle espèce monétaire dont il n'est pas question dans les textes, mais de la diminution de poids et de diamètre du *Nummus Centenionalis*.

Pièces d'argent frappées au cours de cette émission avec l'exergue SMH.<sup>81</sup>

I. *Au revers*.—FELICITAS · ROMANORVM. Constantin debout à gauche entre deux de ses fils, tous trois appuyés sur un sceptre et tenant un globe; au dessus d'eux une voûte soutenue par des colonnes.

<sup>80</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 234

<sup>81</sup> Cet exergue ne comprend pas de lettre d'officines, mais ce n'est pas le cas général pour les monnaies d'argent qui parfois présentent une lettre d'officine à leur exergue.

*Au droit.*—CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG. Son buste diadémé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 149; FR. 130; 4 gr. 45 c.; 0·024 m.m. (Pl. VI, No. 12).

Cette pièce est de l'espèce du miliarensse, classée parmi les médaillons d'argent dans la collection du cabinet de France, ainsi que dans la plus part des Cabinets Numismatiques.

Les pièces d'argent dont la description va suivre sont d'une autre espèce monétaire que la précédente; ce sont des siliques, dont le poids moyen en argent est de 2 gr. 60 c.<sup>82</sup> M. Babelon a établi le rapport, d'après les textes connus et la pesée des pièces; de la silique et du miliarensse d'une part; de la silique et du solidus d'autre part. Les siliques frappées sous le règne de Constantin pèsent en général un peu plus que le poids moyen de 2 gr. 60. La silique comme le miliarensse dut être créée au cours de cette émission. Constantin le Grand fit successivement une série de réformes monétaires, en créant le solidus en 309,<sup>83</sup> l'espèce de bronze le *Nummus Centenionalis* en 314,<sup>84</sup> et les deux espèces d'argent, le miliarensse et la silique, probablement en 325.<sup>85</sup> Il est assez vraisemblable que lorsqu'il se fut rendu maître de tout l'empire en 324, il voulut créer des espèces d'argent d'un rapport facile à établir avec sa monnaie d'or.<sup>86</sup> Le miliarensse est le  $\frac{1}{4}^{\text{me}}$  du solidus, et la silique le  $\frac{1}{2}^{\text{me}}$ .

<sup>82</sup> E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, tome i, pp 575-576.

<sup>83</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, p. 155.

<sup>84</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone, Revue Numismatique*, 1900, pp 285-286.

<sup>85</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Sirmium*, volume du Congrès historique de Rome de 1903, p 249.

<sup>86</sup> Voir sur ce sujet: E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, tome i. pp. 569-570 et 575-576.

II. *Au droit*.—CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Une Victoire marchant à gauche tenant une palme et une couronne.

*Au droit*.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée de Constantin le Grand, à droite, les yeux levés au ciel. Cohen, 97, mais avec SMH à l'exergue; FR. 9530; pièce d'argent, silique; 2 gr. 72 c.; 0·018 m.m.

III. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTIVS CAESAR. Même type du revers.

*Au droit*.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée de Constance II, à droite, les yeux levés au ciel. Cohen, 14 ou 15 mais avec SMH à l'exergue, H. Mus. V; 2 gr. 88 c.; 0·020 m.m.

IV. Il reste à trouver une pièce analogue de Constantin II voisine du No. 72 de Cohen,

V. et sans doute une pièce analogue de Crispus.

Ce prince en effet n'était pas encore mort lorsque furent célébrés les Decennalia des Césars, une première fois en 325, une seconde au 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 326;<sup>87</sup> et ce fut à l'occasion de la célébration de ces Decennalia que furent émises ces pièces des Césars coiffés du bandeau impérial ou diadème, et dont le regard est tourné vers le ciel, dans l'attitude de l'oraison. Cette expression du visage se retrouve sur des pièces émises à l'occasion des anniversaires des empereurs à partir de 326 et jusqu'à Julien qui en fit encore frapper.

L'atelier d'Héraclée de Thrace fut fermé après la célébration des Vicennalia de Constantin (25 Juillet 326); et les morts de Crispus et de Fausta, dont les pièces parurent au cours de cette émission (Septembre 326).<sup>88</sup> Il le

<sup>87</sup> J Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, Num Chron., 1899, p 236.

<sup>88</sup> La plupart des ateliers de l'empire furent fermés momentanément (ce sont ceux d'Antioche, Héraclée, Nicomédie, Cyzique, Siscia, Thessalonica) ou définitivement (ce sont ceux de Sirmium, Tarragone et de

demeura jusqu'au moment où les monnaies, portant au revers en inscription la légende *Gloria Exercitus* et présentant comme type deux soldats casqués et se regardant, tenant chacun un étendard et appuyés sur des boucliers, furent frappées au nom de Constant I élu César le 25 Décembre 333.

### HUITIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis l'élévation de Constant I au rang de César le 25 Décembre 333,<sup>89</sup> jusqu'à celle de Delmatius au même rang le 18 Septembre 335.<sup>90</sup>*

En effet les pièces qui font partie de cette émission et que l'on n'avait pas encore rencontrées dans les précédentes sont celles de Rome, de Constantinople, et celles à l'effigie de Constant I. Les deux premières étaient frappées dans les autres ateliers de l'empire depuis l'inauguration solennelle de Constantinople le 11 Mai 330 ;<sup>91</sup> celles de Constant I le furent à partir de son élévation, comme César, le 25 Décembre 333. L'on ne peut pas encore classer parmi les pièces de cet émission celles de Delmatius, qui sont caractérisées par l'étoile comme différent monétaire et qui ne parurent qu'après le 18 Septembre 335.

Londres) en Septembre 326 Les grands ateliers de Constantinople et d'Alexandrie en Orient, de Rome, Trèves et Arles en Occident restèrent seuls ouverts Celui d'Aquilée avait été fermé en 324, ceux de Serdica d'Ostia et de Carthage plus tôt

<sup>89</sup> Idatius in *Fastis, vel Consularia Constantinopolitana*, anno 333 Dalmatio et Zenophilo. His. Conss. Mon. Germ. Hist. Chron. Minora Saec., IV-VII, p. 234

<sup>90</sup> Idatius in *Fastis*, Constantino et Albino. His Conss. levatus est Dalmatius Caes., XIV. Kal. Oct. Mon. Germ. Hist., p. 235.

<sup>91</sup> J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Constantinople*, Rev. Num., 1901, p. 182.

L'on peut en conclure que la frappe de l'émission était arrêtée à cette date.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission ont un poids moyen de 2 gr. 50 c. Ce sont des *Nummi Centenionales* de poids réduits, car il ne fut pas créé de nouvelle espèce de bronze à cette époque.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$\overline{\text{SMHA}}$      $\overline{\text{SMHB}}$      $\overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$      $\overline{\text{SMH}\Delta}$      $\overline{\text{SMH}\epsilon}$

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$\bullet \overline{\text{SMHA}}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMHB}}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Delta}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\epsilon}$

TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

$\bullet \overline{\text{SMHA}} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMHB}} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Delta} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\epsilon} \bullet$

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE :

$\bullet \overline{\text{SHMA}} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMHB}} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Delta} \bullet$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\epsilon} \bullet$

CINQUIÈME SÉRIE :

$\bullet \bullet \bullet \overline{\text{SMHA}}$      $\bullet \bullet \bullet \overline{\text{SMHB}}$      $\bullet \bullet \bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$      $\bullet \bullet \bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Delta}$      $\bullet \bullet \bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\epsilon}$

SIXIÈME SÉRIE :

$\bullet \overline{\text{SMHA}}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMHB}}$      $\bullet \overline{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$

I. *Au revers*.—Sans légende. La louve à gauche allaitant Romulus et Remus et les regardant.



*Au droit.*—VRBS · ROMA. Son buste à gauche, casqué, drapé et cuirassé, avec une aigrette sur le casque. 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. €; Voetter; FR. 15265; 2 gr. 40 c.; 0·018 m.m.; 2<sup>me</sup>, 3<sup>me</sup> et 6<sup>me</sup> séries, off. €; Voetter; Gnecci.

II. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, le pied posé sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre transversal et appuyée sur un bouclier.

*Au droit.*—CONSTANTINOPOLI (*sic*).<sup>92</sup> Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 21; off. Γ—Δ dans toutes les séries; 1<sup>re</sup> série, FR. 15201 [Pl. VI., No. 13]; 2<sup>me</sup>, 3<sup>me</sup> et 6<sup>me</sup> séries; Voetter.

III. *Au revers.*—GLORIA · EXERCITVS. Deux soldats debout, casqués, appuyés chacun sur un bouclier; entre eux deux enseignes militaires surmontés de drapeaux ornés de couronnes.

*Au droit.*—1°. CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite, avec le diadème orné d'un rang de perles. Cohen, 254; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—€; FR. 14648; Musée de Turin; BR. MUS.; Voetter; 2<sup>me</sup> série, BR. MUS.; Voetter; 3<sup>me</sup> série, FR. 14647; BR. MUS.; Voetter; mêmes officines; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B; Voetter.

2°. CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB · C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 122; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ; BR. MUS.; Voetter; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ; FR. 15712; 2 gr. 50 c.; 0·018 m.m.; Voetter; 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—Γ; BR. MUS.; Voetter; 4<sup>me</sup> série, off. A; Voetter; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. Γ; Voetter.

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<sup>92</sup> La légende CONSTANTINOPOLI au datif se trouve également sur les pièces de l'atelier de Constantinople, capitale dans le voisinage immédiat de laquelle se trouvait Héraclée de Thrace et sur celles des deux ateliers asiatiques les plus proches de Constantinople, Nicomédie et Cyzique. Ailleurs on frappa la légende CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- 3°. FL · IVL · CONSTANTIVS · NOB · C Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 104 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε ; Voetter ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, mêmes off. ; FR. 16201-2 ; 2 gr. 10 c. ; 0·018 m.m. ; BR. MUS. , Voetter , 3<sup>me</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ , FR. 16192 ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter ; 4<sup>me</sup> série, mêmes off. ; Voetter ; 5<sup>me</sup> série, off. Γ—Δ ; Voetter.
- 4°. FL I · CONSTANS NOB CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 74 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B—Ε , FR. 15968 ; Voetter.

### NEUVIÈME ÉMISSION

*Frappée depuis l'élévation de Delmatius au rang de César le 18 Septembre 335, jusqu'à l'élévation des trois fils de Constantin au rang d'Augustes le 9 Septembre 337.*<sup>93</sup>

En effet les deux séries de monnaies qui composent cette émission comprennent des pièces de Delmatius frappées depuis sa nomination comme César jusqu'à sa mort, qui eut lieu pendant l'été de l'année 337 ; elles ne comprennent pas encore les monnaies sur lesquelles les fils de Constantin sont désignés comme Augustes, ni celles du Divus Constantinus (Constantin le Grand) désigné comme père des Augustes, P · T · AVGG Ces dernières pièces furent donc émises avec celles des trois nouveaux Augustes—Constantin II, Constance II, et Constant I—après le 9 Septembre 337, date de la proclamation de leur élévation comme Augustes. La mort de Constantin survenue le 22 Mai 337 fut suivie d'une période d'inter-règne pendant laquelle il n'y eut par d'autre Auguste que Constantin suivant la remarque d'Eusèbe.<sup>94</sup> L'atelier de Constantinople ne fonctionna pendant cet interrègne

<sup>93</sup> Idatius in *Fastis*. Feliciano et Titiano. 1. His Conss Constantinus Aug. ad caelestia regna ablatu est die xi Kal Jun. 2 Et ipso anno nuncupati sunt tres Augusti Constantinus et Constantius et Constans v. Idus Septemb., v. vi., vii, p 235.

<sup>94</sup> Eusèbe, *Vita Constantinii*, iv. 67.

qu'avec une seule officine; celui d'Héraclée au contraire continua les mêmes frappes monétaires que précédemment et avec les mêmes officines jusqu'au 9 Septembre 337, ne reflétant pas les événements de l'interrègne.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de deux sortes : les unes déjà décrites en tête de l'émission précédente ont un poids moyen de 2 gr. 50 c. et un diamètre moyen de 0.017 à 0.018 millimètres; les autres ont un poids moyen de 1 gr. 50 c. et un diamètre de 0.015 à 0.016 millimètres. Cette deuxième et plus petite sorte de bronzes représente la moitié du *Nummus Centenionalis* de 3 gr. 50 c.; en tenant compte d'un léger abaissement du poids de cette espèce monétaire. La plus grande représente ce même *Nummus Centenionalis*, dont le poids moyen serait tombé à 2 gr. 50 c. L'on a vu plus haut que le *Denarius Communis* du système de Dioclétien est représenté sous Licinius, de 320 à 324, par de petites pièces de bronze ou *folles* d'un poids moyen très voisin de 2 gr. 50 c. sur lesquelles se trouve inscrit le signe de valeur  $\frac{X}{III}^{95}$ . Il est impossible de ne pas faire un rapprochement entre ces deux espèces de bronze, justifié par le fait que le *Nummus Centenionalis* remplaça le *Denarius Communis* à partir de 324. L'on doit admettre que Constantin, après avoir réuni l'empire d'Orient à l'empire d'Occident, dut approprier la frappe de ses pièces de bronze aux besoins de l'empire tout entier et que tout en gardant théoriquement l'espèce du *Nummus Centenionalis* qu'il avait créée en 315 et que l'on trouve mentionnée sous ses successeurs, il fut amené à émettre des pièces de bronze de même poids que celles qui devaient encore circuler en grande quantité en Orient.

<sup>95</sup> Voir plus haut, p 156.

## PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHA} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHB} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\Gamma \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\Delta \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\epsilon \end{array}$$

## DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHA}\star \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMHB}\star \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\Gamma\star \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\Delta\star \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMH}\epsilon\star \end{array}$$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Deux enseignes militaires entre les soldats.

*Au droit.*—1°. CONSTANTINVS · MAX AVG. Cohen, 254 ; déjà décrit ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B— $\Gamma$ — $\Delta$ — $\epsilon$  ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A ; Fr. 14646 ; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 14.]

2°. CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB · C Cohen, 124 ; déjà décrit ; off. A—B— $\Gamma$ — $\Delta$  ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, même officines ; Voetter.

3°. FL · IVL · CONSTANTIVS · NOB · C. Cohen, 104 ; off A—B— $\Gamma$ — $\Delta$ — $\epsilon$  ; 1<sup>re</sup> série ; 2<sup>me</sup> série ; Voetter

4°. FL · I · CONSTANS · NOB · CAES. Cohen, 74 ; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. B— $\epsilon$  ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off. A— $\epsilon$  ; Fr. 15968 ; Voetter

5°. FL · DELMATIVS · NOB CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droit. Inédite ; 1<sup>re</sup> série ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off.  $\Gamma$  ; Voetter.

6°. FL · DALMATIVS NOB CAES. Même buste. Cohen, 14 ; 2<sup>me</sup> série, off.  $\Gamma$ .

7°. Variété produite par une erreur du graveur. FL · DELANTIVS (*sic*) NOB · CAES. Même buste. 2<sup>me</sup> série, off.  $\Gamma$  ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers.*—GLORIA · EXERCITVS. Deux soldats debout, casqués, tenant chacun une haste et appuyés sur un bouclier ; entre eux, une enseigne militaire surmontée d'un drapeau sur lequel est une couronne.

*Au droit.*—1°. CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite avec le diadème orné d'un rang de perles. Cohen, 250; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε; Voetter.

2°. CONSTANTINVS · IVN · NOB C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé, ou lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 114; off. A—B—Γ—Δ; 1<sup>re</sup> série; Voetter.

3°. FL · IVL CONSTANTIVS · NOB · C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 92; off. A—B—Γ—Δ; 1<sup>re</sup> série; FR. 16145; Voetter.

4°. FL · I CONSTANS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 49; off. B—Ε; 1<sup>re</sup> série; FR. 15919; 1 gr. 30 c.; 0.017 m.m [Pl. VI., No. 15.]

5°. FL · DELMATIVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 6; 1<sup>re</sup> série, off. Γ; Voetter.

6°. VRBS ROMA Buste de Rome à gauche avec un casque surmonté d'une aigrette et le manteau impérial Cohen, 1; off. A—B—Δ—Ε; FR. 15230; 1 gr. 85 c.; 0.016 m.m.; 15231-2; BR. MUS.; Musée de Turin; Gnechi. [Pl. VI., No. 16.]

7°. CONSTANTINOPOLI. Buste de Constantinople à gauche, avec le casque lauré et le manteau impérial, tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 5; off. A—Γ—Δ—Ε; FR. 15175; Voetter; Gnechi.

Pièces de Constantin le Grand émises après le 9 Septembre 337.

I. *Au revers.*—IVST · VEN · MEM. L'Équité debout à gauche, tenant une balance et la main gauche enveloppée dans son vêtement.

*Au droit.*—DV CONSTANTINVS · P · T · AVG. Sa tête voilée à droite. Cohen, 314; exergue  $\overline{\text{SMHE}}$ ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers.*— $\overline{\text{VN} \mid \text{MR}}$  dans le champ, et comme type une figure féminine (la Piété?) debout à droite, voilée et les mains enveloppées dans sa robe.

Même droit. Cohen, 716; exergues,  $\frac{|}{\text{SMH}\Gamma}$ ; série avec un point,  $\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}}\bullet\Gamma\bullet\epsilon\bullet$ ; avec deux points,  $\frac{|}{\bullet\text{SMH}\Gamma\bullet}$ ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers* — Sans légende. Constantin dans un quadriges au galop à droite, tendant la main à une main céleste, qui s'avance pour le recevoir. Même droit; exergues,  $\frac{|}{\text{SMHA}}\text{—B—}\epsilon$  et  $\frac{|}{\text{SMH}}$ ; Voetter.

JULES MAURICE.

## X.

### EADWARD THE CONFESSOR AND HIS COINS.

(See Plates VII, VIII.)

IN these few pages an attempt will be made to ascertain the chronological sequence of the types of the coins of Eadward, the son of the unfortunate Æthelræd II by his queen, the Lady Emma Ælfgifu, daughter of Richard I, Count or Duke of Normandy.

The dominions of Æthelræd and Richard suffered alike from the incursions of the sea-roving Danes, and it is fair to assume that the marriage of Æthelræd to Richard's daughter in the autumn of the year 1002 was intended to cement a bond of union against the common foe.

To this marriage is almost directly attributable the subsequent conquest of England by Emma's great nephew, William II, Count or Duke of Normandy, and King William I of England.

It is certain that she took the earliest opportunity of appointing her countrymen to positions of authority, as, under the year 1003, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Exeter was taken by storm through the French Count Hugo, whom "the lady" (the then description of a queen consort) had appointed her reeve. It is clear from the context that the word "through" here is equivalent to "by the fault or neglect of." To Æthelræd and Emma were born two sons, viz. Ælfred and Eadward.

No mention is made of either of these until the year 1013, when it is recorded that when London had submitted to King Svein's forces, and King Æthelræd was with his fleet which lay in the Thames, the lady (Emma) went oversea to Normandy to her brother, Richard II. At this time also the king sent "the Æthelings," Ælfred and Eadward, to Normandy in the care of Bishop Ælfhūn of London. Æthelræd himself soon followed, and abode with his brother-in-law, Richard, until the time when Svein was dead (3rd February, 1014). Although Cnut was chosen king by the fleet, the "witan" resolved that Æthelræd should be recalled, and sent to him a loyal message.

On this occasion the king sent his son Eadward with his messengers to give his assent to the request of the witan. It is, therefore, probable that Eadward was born within the first two or three years of his parents' marriage, or he would scarcely have been old enough to have travelled on so important a mission.

After his restoration Æthelræd's troubles continued until his death on the 23rd April, 1016. It would appear that during the struggle which afterwards ensued between Æthelræd's son, King Eadmund (Ironside), and the Danish king Cnut, Emma, with her sons Ælfred and Eadward, again retired to Normandy. After a short reign over Wessex, Eadmund died, and thereupon King Cnut drove out Eadwig "the Ætheling" (King Eadmund's brother), and afterwards caused him to be slain, and having obtained possession of the whole kingdom, he, in July, 1017, married the relict of King Æthelræd, and she became by Cnut the mother of Harthacnut. Ælfred and Eadward, her sons by King Æthelræd, appear to have remained at the court of their uncle, Richard II,



in Normandy. After the death of King Cnut on the 12th November, 1035, Harold, who claimed to be a son of Cnut by Ælfgyfu, the daughter of Ælfhelm the ealdorman, obtained possession of the throne to the prejudice of the descendants of Æthelræd and of Harthacnut the lawful son of Cnut, who remained too long in Denmark to make good his claim to the English throne.

Harold also took from Queen Emma at Winchester all the "best treasures" that King Cnut had possessed. In the following year Ælfred (and, according to Florence of Worcester, Eadward also) came to England to visit Queen Emma at Winchester, and, as is said, through the instrumentality of Earl Godwine Ælfred was blinded and foully done to death, but Eadward returned again to Normandy.

Queen Emma Ælfgyfu was driven out from England, and took refuge with Count Baldwin at Bruges.

King Harold died on the 17th March, 1040, and was succeeded by Harthacnut, and in the following year his maternal brother Eadward returned to England from Normandy. On the 8th June, 1042, died Harthacnut "as he stood at his drink, falling to the earth with a terrible struggle, and afterwards speaking no word." Harthacnut having thus succumbed, apparently to apoplexy, all the people received Eadward for king. The writer of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* adds "as was his natural right," thus ignoring the claims of the descendants of King Eadmund (Ironside), son of Æthelræd by a marriage prior to that with the usurious and power-seeking Emma.

From the above sketch it will be seen that Eadward was brought up in the Norman Court, and continued to

reside there until he was of an age approaching forty, and it may be safely assumed that his ideas were more in accord with those of the Normans than of the English, but this seems in no way to have affected the system and manner of coinage hitherto in vogue in this country. It is also well known that his views inclined towards the religious and monkish side of the Norman character rather than to the military or baronial standard.

Having reviewed in brief the events leading up to and preceding the accession of Eadward to the throne of his ancestors, it is now proposed to consider the main subject of this paper, viz. the number and chronological sequence of the types of this king's coins.

If reference be made to vol. 2 of the Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, it will be seen that the compilers of that volume in the preliminary "Description of Types" assign no less than seventeen types (in addition to varieties) to this monarch's reign of approximately twenty-three years and seven months (8th June, 1042, to 5th January, 1066).

It has been found requisite, by removing the "mule," or combination, coins from the status of distinct *types*, to materially reduce this number, with the result that, after establishing type iii., var. C of Hildebrand and the Museum Catalogue as a distinct *type*, the seventeen types of that work are reduced to eleven, and the average duration of a type on the assumption that all were issued during the same length of time would be a little over two years. It does not, however, appear that such an assumption would be a correct one.

It is proposed, first, to give a list of the distinct *types*, with the varieties of each, in the order which the "mule" coins clearly show that they should be placed, and,

secondly, to make some attempt at assigning to each distinct type the approximate dates of the commencement and close of its issue. In the case of a "mule" coin the obverse is always of an earlier type than (and, generally speaking, is of the *next preceding* type to) the type of its *reverse*.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES.

### TYPE I.—"HARTHACNUT" TYPE.

#### Obverse.

Bust to left, diademed; in front, sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis, and sometimes held in left hand. Around, inscription interrupted by bust: outer circle.

#### Reverse

Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with pellet in each angle and in centre. Around, inscription: outer circle.

This is precisely similar to the last English type of Harthacnut (British Museum, type ii.).

#### *Examples.*

+ ECDI RECC E +

+ ÆGELPINE OH BRICE:  
(Bristol)

There is a similar coin in the British Museum Catalogue (except that the third letter of the king's name is there rendered  $\odot$  instead of D), where it is described as of Cnut, type xvii. It is No. 21 of the Museum coins under that reign.

The moneyer occurs as of Bristol on other types of Cnut's coins as ÆGELPINE and ÆELPINE, and also as of the same place during Edward the Confessor's reign as ÆELFPINE, so the attribution to the right king is dependent entirely on the obverse legend.

Obverse  
+ EDPER ECXANG

Reverse.  
+ BVRRED ONN SVDEL :  
(Southwark)

[Pl. VII., No. 1.]

+ EDPAR DRE

+ PILERIP ON STAI :  
(Stamford)

Illustrated in Hildebrand, pl. 13, type C, var. d; also in British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2, p. 335, where it forms type iii., var. C.

MULE  $\frac{I}{II}$

Similar to Type I, except that the legend is not broken by the bust.

Same as Type II.

*Example.*

+ EDPARDRD REX.

+ OLFERD ON LIN  
(Lincoln)

Illustrated in Hildebrand, pl. 12, type A, var. a, also in British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2, p. 334, where it forms type i., var. b.

# TYPE II.—“RADIATE CROWN” TYPE (HAWKINS, FIG. 226).

Bust to left, with radiate crown.  
Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

N.B.—This simple device is a survival of one of the earliest and most general of Anglo-Saxon coin types.

*Examples.*

+ EDPER DREXA

+ FROME ON DEORBPI :  
(Derby)

+ EDPE DREXT

+ HÆRL-ODON ON OCXE  
(Oxford)

[Pl. VII., No. 2.]

## VARIETY I.

Similar, but with diadem (in lieu of radiate crown).

Same.

*Example*

+ EDPE DREXA

+ BRVNNYSE O COL  
(Colchester)

MULE  $\frac{II.}{III.}$ 

Obverse.  
Same as Type II.

Reverse  
Same as Type III.

*Illustration.*

+ EDP · ERD REXA

+ OÐEN ON EFRPPIC · :  
(York)

[Pl. VII., No. 3.]

Coin No. 293 in British Museum Catalogue and pl. xxiv. 7. This forms type iii., var. b of the Museum system.

## TYPE III.—“QUADRILATERAL” TYPE (Hks., 220).

Bust to left, diademed; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with three pellets at each angle, and one in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

N.B.—This, allowing for the difference caused by the inner circle, greatly resembles the last type of Æthelræd II (B. M., type viii.), and is exactly similar to a coin of Cnut (alone constituting type xix. of the British Museum arrangement of that king's coins, and figured in vol. 2 of the Catalogue pl. xix. 4), and to a coin of Harthacnut of the same type, lot 148 of the Murdoch collection (illustrated in pl. ii. of the Sale Catalogue).

*Examples.*

+ EDPIIR D REX

+ ÆLHAN ON BEDEF :  
(Bedford)

+ EDPE · RDREX · :

+ CILDŦ ON BEDEPIN  
(Great Bedwin)

+ EDPERD REX ƿ

+ ELFPINE ON HVNT ·  
(Huntingdon)

Additional pellet in 2nd and 3rd quarters of cross.

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

Obverse.	Reverse
+ EDPE · RD REX :	+ PVL M/ER ON RVME : (Romney)
+ EDPER · · D REX :	+ PVL M/ER ONN SREO (Shrewsbury)

[Pl. VII., No. 4.]

## TYPE III.—VARIETY I.

Same as Type III., but bust to right.

Same as Type III.

*Example.*

: XER · LD · EDPE +	IN · DIV · ONN · EL · IE +
	(London)

This is coin No. 905, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxvi., 13) where it constitutes type iii., var. a.

This piece is a “variety” by courtesy only. It is the result of a die-sinker’s ignorance or neglect; the work of a person who did not take into consideration the obvious principles of his art.

Its chief interest is the disclosure of the fact that in the case of this coin, at all events, the legends on the obverse and reverse (including the distinctive names of the moneyer and place of mintage) were engraved by the same person who engraved the general types of the obverse and reverse.

MULE  $\frac{\text{III.}}{\text{IV.}}$

Obverse.  
Same as Type III.

Reverse.  
Same as Type IV.

*Illustration.*

+ EDPE RE · C	+ LEOFPINE OXF
	(Oxford)

[Pl. VII., No. 5.]

This is coin No. 1113 in the British Museum Catalogue. In the description of types it there constitutes type ii., var. b.

## TYPE IV.—“SMALL” TYPE (HKS., 229).

## Obverse

Bust to left, diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

## Reverse

Short cross voided: pellet in centre. Around, inscription; outer circle.

*Illustration.*

+ EDPE RD RE

+ HVSEARONLEIC  
(Chester)

[Pl. VII., No. 6.]

The mule connecting Type IV. with Type V. appears to be unknown, but this may, perhaps, be accounted for by the exceptionally small size of the dies from which Type IV. emanated. The reverses of Varieties I. and II. of Type V. resemble Type IV. very closely. In the case of Variety I. the only distinctions are the increased size of the die and the addition of the letters PΛCX in the angles of the cross.

## TYPE V.—“PAX” TYPE (HKS., 221).

## Obverse.

Bust to left, diademed; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

## Reverse.

Long cross voided, each limb terminating in crescent; in centre, annulet enclosing pellet, and in angles PΛCX. Around, inscription: outer circle.

N.B.—This type is the same as a Lincoln coin of Cnut, which alone constitutes type xii. of the British Museum arrangement. It is also nearly similar to a coin of Harold I attributed to “London,” and alone forming type ii. of the same arrangement of the coins of that king. Dr. P. Hauberg, in his *Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*,

Obverse.

Reverse.

published in 1900, illustrates two Danish coins of Harthacnut with the PÆX type reverse, and also one of Magnus (who reigned from 1042 to 1047) of the same type.

*Examples.*

+ EDPVAR RECX ∴	+ HVNNT ONN : MEΛ (Malmesbury)
[Pl. VII., No 7.]	
+ EDPAR DREX	+ LIOFPIINE ON SΛ (Sandwich)
+ EDPAR DRECX.	+ PVLMEER ON SER (Shrewsbury)

## TYPE V.—VARIETY I.

Same as Type V.

Similar to Type V., but with *short* cross voided, and no crescents at ends of limbs.

*Illustration.*

+ EDPED DREX	+ EADPOLD ON LVND (London)
	PAXX (instead of PÆX) in angles of cross.
[Pl. VII., No. 8.]	

## TYPE V.—VARIETY II.

Same as Type V.

Similar to Type V., but pellet at end of each limb of *short* cross voided; *inner* circle.

*Example.*

+ EDPER DREX ∴	+ LEOFNOÐ ON HERE : (Hereford)
----------------	-----------------------------------

Illustrated, Hildebrand, pl. 13, type D, var. b, and reproduced British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2, p. 335, where it forms type iv., var. b.

MULE  $\frac{V}{VI}$

Same as Type V.

Same as Type VI.



*Illustration.*

Obverse.  
+ EDPA · RD RE

Reverse  
+ PINTERFVNΛ ON EOFR  
(York)

Annulet in 4th quarter of cross.

[Pl. VII., No. 9.]

## TYPE VI—"EXPANDING CROSS" TYPE (HKS., 219).

Bust to left, diademed, in front  
sceptre (pommée). Around, in-  
scription divided by bust: outer  
circle.

Short cross voided, the limbs  
united at base by two circles.  
Around, inscription between two  
circles.

*Examples.*

+ EDPE · R ∴ DN

+ ÆLFPII ON GRATED ∴  
(Cambridge)

[Pl. VII., No. 10.]

+ EDP RD R · EX

+ GODRIC ON LINC  
(Lincoln)

Var.: large pellet between chin  
and sceptre.

+ EDPA · RD RE

+ ODE-RIM ON LINC  
(Lincoln)

Var.: sceptre terminates in fleur-  
de-lis.

+ EDRE · RD REX

+ L · EOFRIC ON PÆRI ∴  
(Warwick)

+ EDPE ∴ · RD REX

+ LEFSTAN ON PIHERE ∴  
(Worcester)

MULE  $\frac{VI}{VII}$

Same as Type VI.

Same as Type VII.

*Examples.*

+ EDP: ERD R . . . E

+ BRINTPINE ON LVNE ∴  
(London)

Var.: sceptre terminates in fleur-  
de-lis.

[Pl. VII., No. 11.]

Obverse.

+ EDPV DRE'X :

Reverse.

+ IRED ON NIPEPORT  
(Newport, Buckinghamshire)

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

+ EDPER. DREEX :

+ GODELEOF ON ðEOT  
(Thetford)

This is coin No. 1542, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxx. 14).

## TYPE VII.—“POINTED HELMET” TYPE (HKS., 227).

Bust to right, bearded, wearing pointed helmet, and holding in right hand sceptre, which terminates in a cross (or sometimes a fleur-de-lis or three pellets). Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

N.B.—This is similar to the British Museum type xiv. of Cnut, except that the bust of that king is turned to the left.

Short cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; in centre, annulet, frequently enclosing pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

N.B.—This, adapted to the circumstance of an inner circle, is the same type as that of the last but one of Æthelræd II (British Museum, type iv., var. a), and in each case the three undivided “crescents” probably symbolise the Holy Trinity.

*Examples.*

+ EDPER DREX

+ ÆÐTAN ON BRIG.  
(Bristol)

/ in 2nd and 3rd quarters of cross.

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

+ EDPER. DREI

+ MORCERE ON EDM  
(St. Edmundsbury)

(Fleur-de-lis sceptre.)

[PL. VII., No. 12.]

+ EDP DREX

+ GODRIC ON HVNTE  
(Huntingdon)

+ EDPER DREX

+ GODPINE ON ROFEN :  
(Rochester)

(Fleur-de-lis sceptre.)

Var.: pellet in 4th quarter of cross.

Obverse  
+ EDPAR DRE

Reverse.  
+ FORNE ON SNOTINC  
(Nottingham)

TYPE VII.—VARIETY I.

Same, but bust to left.

Same.

N.B.—This "variety" is a reproduction of the British Museum type xiv. of Cnut.

*Illustration*

+ EAD PERD REX

+ GODRICE ONN BΛÐANN :  
(Bath)

(Sceptre, pommée.)

[Pl. VII., No. 13.]

This coin is No. 10, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxii. 2).

*Other Examples.*

+ EDPE R·DR EX

+ ERNPI ON HERE  
(Hereford)

(Sceptre, pommée.)

This is coin No. 545, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2. (pl. xxv. 8).

+ NDE RΛIX

+ COLBRAND ON LEI  
(Chester)

(Fleur-de-lis sceptre.)

This is coin No. 645, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxvii. 3).

+ EADPE ·AR·D REX ·

+ EADPOLD ONN LVND :  
(London)

This is coin No. 993, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2.

EDPER D REX AN ·

+ LEOFRED ON LVNDE :  
(London)

(Sceptre, pommée.)

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

+ EADP RDREX AN

+ P·VLFRIC OMN : & CEF  
(Shaftesbury)

+ EADPE RD REX AN

+ GARVLF ON PIHERE :  
(Worcester)

This is coin No. 1439, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxx. 7), where it is wrongly read, and therefore wrongly attributed to Winchester, instead of Worcester. Garulf is a moneyer of Worcester only.

MULE  $\frac{\text{VII}}{\text{VIII}}$ 

Obverse.  
Same as Type VII.

Reverse  
Same as Type VIII.

*Illustration.*

+ EDP ED RE :

+ PVLFRIC ON SCEAF  
(Shaftesbury)

[Pl. VII., No. 14.]

This is coin No. 1169, British Museum Catalogue, vol. 2 (pl. xxviii. 6). It alone constitutes type viii. of the British Museum arrangement of types.

## TYPE VIII.—“SOVEREIGN” TYPE (Hks., 228).

King seated on throne with head in profile to right, wearing crown surmounted by three balls: he holds in right hand long sceptre, and in left, orb surmounted by cross. Around, inscription: outer circle.

Short cross voided; annulet or pellet frequently in centre; in each angle a bird. Around, inscription between two circles.

N.B.—This type was revived in Stephen's reign, and in that of Richard II a somewhat similar device was assigned by the Heralds as the “arms” of St. Edward.

*Examples.*

+ EADPARD REX ANGLO

+ CILDA O · N BEDEPIN  
(Great Bedwin)

EADPPRD R : + ANG-ORV

+ GODPINE : ON CICE IT :  
(Chichester)

[Pl. VII., No. 15.]

This is a specimen deriving special interest from the fact that it is struck upon a coin of Type VII., the old reverse not being completely obliterated by the new obverse.

ENDPARD REX ANGLOV :

+ LEOFPINE ON GLEPEE  
(Gloucester)

Minor variety. Birds without legs or claws.

EADPARD REX ANGLO

+ BRVNMAN ONCIPS  
(Ipswich)

Obverse.

EADPARD REX ANGLO

Reverse

+ BRIHTPOLD ON OX :  
(Oxford)

Minor variety. Inner circle.

[Pl. VII., No. 16.]

EADPAREX ANGL O

+ LIFSTAN ON ROFE  
(Rochester)

Pellet in 2nd quarter.

[Pl. VII., No. 17.]

EADPARD REX ANGLO :

+ COLLINE ON TAME  
(Tamworth)

EAHDPAR + ANGLO

+ BR AND ON PA·L II  
(Wallingford)Minor variety. Orb surmounted  
by :, instead of cross.

EADPARD REX ANGLO

+ LVFFINE ON PÆRPI :  
(Warrick)

EADVVEARDVS REX ANGLO

+ ÆLFPINE ON PINCES  
(Winchester)Minor variety. Orb *without*  
cross.

EADPEARD REX ANGLO

+ GA·RVL·: F·: ON ·PI·  
GERA  
(Worcester)MULE  $\frac{\text{VIII.}}{\text{IX.}}$ 

Same as Type VIII

Same as Type IX.

*Illustration.*

+ EADPRD REX ANG·ORV :

+ EMÆR ON HIRFOR  
(Hertford)

[Pl. VII., No. 18.]

TYPE IX.—“CROSS AND SEGMENT” TYPE (Hks., 222).

Bust to right, bearded, wearing  
crown of two arches surmounted  
by three balls; in front, sceptre.  
Around, inscription, divided by  
bust: outer circle.Short cross voided, each limb  
terminating in an incurved seg-  
ment of a circle; in centre, pellet.  
Around, inscription: outer circle.N.B.—There are three blun-  
dered coins with similar reverses  
illustrated by Dr. P. Hauberg

Obverse.

Reverse.

(*op. cit.*, pl. viii. Nos. 5, 6, and 7), which he attributes to the period of the wars between Denmark and Norway, 1044 to 1047. The historical facts do not, however, seem to warrant this attribution.

+ EADPAR RD RE

+ LIOFFINE ON DIRBI  
(Derby)

+ EADPARD RD RE

+ EADRIC : ON HEREFO  
(Hereford)

## [PL. VII., No 19.]

This coin is struck upon one of Type VIII. Traces of the old reverse are discernible through the new obverse, and traces of the old obverse through the new reverse.

+ EADPAR RD RE

+ GODPINE ON HVNTE  
(Huntingdon)

This specimen presents similar features to that lastly above described, and the precisely similar piece, No. 563 in the British Museum Catalogue (illustrated pl. xxv. ii.), has the same characteristics.

+ EADPAR RD RE

+ WÆPAN ON NIPEP :  
(Newport, Bucks.)

Minor variety. A pellet in 1st and 4th angles of cross.

+ EDPAR D RE

+ ðORSTAN O NOR  
(Norwich)

Minor variety, ∴ behind bust.

Minor variety, five pellets in line in the voided portion of the sinister limb of the cross.

## [PL. VII., No. 20.]

+ EADPAR RD RE

+ CVLLINE ON STAFFO  
(Stafford)

+ LEADPD RD RE

+ COLIE : ON TAMPOR  
(Tamworth)

+ EADPAR RD RE

+ LIOFRIC ON PIHRE  
(Worcester)

## VARIETY I.

Same, except that the legend is continuous, commencing behind the bust.

Same.

*Examples.*

Obverse	Reverse.
EADPEARDRE	+ GODPINE : ON LVD · (London)
EADPEARD REX	+ SÆPINE : ON PILTI · (Wilton)
EADPEARD REX ANG	+ LEOFOLD · ON PINCE (Winchester)

[Pl. VIII., No. 21.]

MULE  $\frac{IX.}{X.}$ 

Same as Type IX.

Same as Type X.

*Illustration*

EADPAR RD REX	+ AGLRIC ON LEHR · (Leicester)
---------------	-----------------------------------

[Pl. VIII., No. 22.]

This coin alone constitutes type xii. of the British Museum arrangement. It is No. 625 in the Catalogue (illustrated pl. xxvi. 2).

## TYPE X.—“SMALL FULL-FACE” TYPE (Hks., 225).

Bust facing, bearded; wearing crown, usually arched, generally surmounted by cross. Around, inscription between two circles, usually divided above by head.

Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

N.B.—Again the old Saxon type of reverse is used as in Type II. of my arrangement. This circumstance led Hildebrand to class this as a “variety” of the “Radiate Crown” type, but this error was corrected by Dr. Head.

*Examples.*

· EADPARD REX AN ·	+ GODPINE ON GILDE : (Guldford)
--------------------	------------------------------------

[Pl. VIII., No. 23.]

EADDARD RE ·	+ GODEVERD ON MOI (Norwich?)
--------------	---------------------------------

Obverse  
• EADPAERD RE •

∴ over crown.

Reverse  
+ GODRIC ON DETF  
(Thetford)

Four pellets placed equidistantly  
on an inner circle.

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

+ EADPARD RE :

EADPARD REX A

+ GARVLF ON PIHRE  
(Worcester)

+ GODEBRAND  
(Salisbury?)

Name of moneyer only. Pellet  
in field above and below cross.

MULE  $\frac{X}{XI}$ .

Bust facing, bearded; wearing  
arched crown and holding sceptre  
in right hand, and orb in left.  
Around, inscription : outer circle.

Same as Type XI.

N.B.—This is similar to Type  
X., but the increased size of the  
flans of Type XI., as compared  
with Type X., permitted a fuller  
representation of the obverse of  
that type.

### *Examples.*

EADPARD REX

+ LEOFRED ON CRECLA  
(Cricklade)

Coin No. 157, British Museum Catalogue (illustrated pl. xxiii. 8).

EADPARD RE :

+ MANPINE ON DOPER  
(Dover)

[PL VIII., No. 24.]

(Not recorded )

+ GODRIC ON SANDPI  
(Sandwich)

(Mentioned in *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xvi. p. 362).

EDPARD RE

+ BRVNING ON TAM  
(Tamworth)

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.



Obverse.  
EADPARD REX

Reverse  
+ HEAÐEPVLF ON PI  
(Worcester)

From the Martin (lot 51), Murchison (lot 342) Bergne (lot 270), Young (lot 42), Brice, Montagu (lot 159), and Murdoch (lot 160), collections (illustrated, pl. iii.).

This coin has been attributed in sale catalogues to Hitchin (!) and Winchester. Coin No. 1486 in British Museum Catalogue there assigned to Winchester is of Worcester. This moneyer continued to coin at Worcester for Harold II and William I.

EADPARD REX

+ HEÐEPI ON PIEPIC  
(Worcester)

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

#### TYPE XI.—"PYRAMID" TYPE.

Bust to right, wearing arched crown, from which depends an ornament terminating in three pellets; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription: outer circle.

Short cross voided; annulet or pellet generally in centre; in each angle, pyramid springing from inner circle and terminating in pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

#### *Examples.*

EAPARD REX A

+ CILDA ON BEDEPIN  
(Great Bedwin)

[Pl. VIII., No. 25.]

EADPARD REX

+ BRIHTPOLD ON OX :  
(Oxford)

#### VARIETY I.

Bust to left: otherwise same.

Same.

#### *Example.*

+ ERDR D AC

+ 3PETMAN ON LVI  
(London)

Coin No. 1073, British Museum Catalogue (pl. xxvii. 7), which constitutes type xv., var. b, of the British Museum arrangement.

#### VARIETY II.

Similar to main type; no sceptre.

Similar: at end of each limb of cross, segment of circle curved outwards.

*Illustration.*

Obverse	Reverse.
EADPARD REX A	+ BRIHTMÆR ON PA :
	(Wallingford)

[Pl. VIII., No. 26.]

This is coin No. 1297, British Museum Catalogue (pl. xxix. 10), which constitutes type xv., var. c of the British Museum arrangement.

Mr. Thos. Bearman possesses a specimen from the same reverse die, with obverse of the main type, XI., also a specimen with obverse of Variety II. (*no sceptre*) with reverse of the main type. Both are of the moneyer Brihtmær of Wallingford.

## VARIANTS OF TYPE XI.

(See Illustrations.)

+ EADPA RD RE	+ ÆLFS ON LEGEEE ::
	(Chester)

Legend divided by bust, helmeted head.

[Pl. VIII., No. 27.]

This is coin No. 660 of the British Museum Catalogue: for a similar specimen see Murdoch Sale Catalogue, lot 158 (illustrated pl. in.), Hawkins, Fig. 223.

+ EADPAR D REX .	+ LIOFNOÐ ON LEGECES
	(Chester)

Legend divided by bust, helmeted head.

[Pl. VIII., No. 28.]

EADPARD RE	+ BRIHTPI ON MAL
	(Malmesbury)

Curious bust.

[Pl. VIII., No. 29.]

EADPARD REX .	+ SPETMÆN ON HÆ
	(Southampton)

The pyramid in 3rd quarter of cross terminates in three pellets.

In the collection of Mr. Thos. Bearman.

EADPARD RX	+ SNEBEARN ON EO
	(York)

Curious bust; no fillet.

Annulet replaces pyramid in 4th quarter of cross.

[Pl. VIII., No. 30.]

MULE  $\frac{\text{XI}}{\text{Harold II}}$

**Obverse.**

Same as Type XI.

**Reverse.**

PXX across field between two dotted lines. Around, inscription between two circles. (The sole reverse type used by Harold II.)

*Examples.*

EADPARD REX

+ ÆLFPINE ON BRYC-  
(Bristol)

From the Murchison (lot 343), Montagu (lot 857), and Murdoch (lot 161) collections.

[Pl. VIII., No. 31.]

EADPARD RE

### + SPEARTING ON PI (Winchester)

This is coin No. 159, British Museum Catalogue.

EADPARD REX

+ SENEARN ON EOFR  
(York)

This is coin No. 429, British Museum Catalogue (pl. xxiv. 14).

EADPARD REX

+ SPARTCOL ON EOFB  
(York)

From the Gibbs, Montagu, and Murdoch collections.

[Pl. VIII., No. 32.]

Before concluding the descriptions of the types, it is requisite to refer to two varieties of mule coins, both of which may be regarded as irregular or accidental, as distinguished from coins issued, possibly by authority, during, say, the first three months after the issue of a new *reverse* type, for the purpose, it is suggested (*inter alia*), of preserving the sequence of the types.

These are—

MULE  $\frac{\text{VII.}}{\text{IX.}}$

**Obverse.**

Same as Type VII.

**Reverse.**

Same as Type IX.

*Example.*

+ EDPERD REX O

+ LIOFÐEGEN ON BEDE  
(Bedford)

Montagu sale (lot 146), and Murdoch sale, part of lot 156. For other examples, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III., vol. v. p. 273.

As regards this combination of Types VII. and IX. the obvious explanation would appear to be that during the issue of Type IX. an obverse die of Type VII. was used in mistake for the obverse of the current type, both of which are in profile to right.

MULE <span style="float: right;">Type XI.</span>	
<hr/> William I "Bonnet" type (Hks 234)	
Obverse.	Reverse.
Same as Type XI.	A die of William I (Hks., 234.)

*Illustration.*

EADPARD REX                      + GODEBRAND ON 2  
[Pl. VIII., No. 33.]

This is coin No. 1175 of the British Museum Catalogue (pl. xxviii. 7), in which it alone constitutes type xvi. For the explanation of this "accidental" mule, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. IV., vol. ii. p. 216.

For particulars of some other minor varieties of type not specified in the foregoing list of main types and "mules," the reader may refer to *Num. Chron.*, New Ser. vol. vi.; ditto, vol. xvi., pl. xii.; ditto, Ser. III. vol. v. pp. 260-273; and to the text and plates of vol. ii. of the British Museum Catalogue (pp. 334-459 and pl. xxii. to xxx.).

In arriving at the determination of the sequence of the types, the evidence afforded by the mule coins and overstruck specimens there set out has been chiefly relied on, but the evidence afforded by a perusal of Hildebrand, and the accounts by Dr. Head of the Chancton Hoard (*Num. Chron.*, 1867), and of portions of the City Hoard by Mr. E. H. Willett (*Num. Chron.*, 1876) and Sir John Evans (*Num. Chron.*, 1885) have also been taken into consideration, and a reference to these works will show that the facts disclosed by the finds in

Scandinavia, at Chancton, and in the City of London all tend to confirm the other evidence first above alluded to. The like confirmation is also derived from Messrs. W. A. Raper and E. H. Willett's account of the Sedlescomb Hoard (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xxxiii., 1883)

It will be noticed that the first six types represent the king's bust in profile to the left and without a beard. This was probably due to an adhesion to the conventional method of representing his predecessors, Harthacnut and Cnut. The remaining five types all represent the king with a beard, and, when in profile, with head turned to the right. The rare variety of the "pointed helmet" type with bust to the left seems to constitute a link between the earlier and later style of representation of the king's portrait, and resembles in the direction of the bust its prototype of Cnut's coinage.

That Eadward wore a beard in his latter years is evidenced both by the coins and the following passage in the *Life of Eadward the Confessor* (written between 1066 and 1074 by a partisan of the House of Godwine), printed from Harl. M.S. 526 in the Rolls Series, 1858—

"Erat tunc videre in defuncto corpore gloriam migrantis ad Deum animæ, cum scilicet caro faciei ut rosa ruberet, subiecta barba ut lilium canderet, manus suo ordine directæ albescerent, totumque corpus non morti sed fausto sopori (omission) traditumque signarent"

Coins officially cut for the purpose of circulation as halfpennies and farthings exist in the cases of Types II., III., IV., V., and VI., and also in that of Type X. (small full-face type), but no similarly cut coins of the remaining types have come to the notice of the writer.

The second and more speculative portion of the paper is now reached, viz. an attempt to assign to each of the distinct types the approximate dates of the commencement and close of its issue.

The coins most likely to give a clue to a date historically ascertainable are those bearing the word PACX, or PAX on the reverse. The mule coins, obverse Type XI. and reverse PAX, must be assigned to the end of the reign of Eadward or to the beginning of that of Harold II. Taking this word to here mean "treaty" or "pact," it may, I think, be fairly surmised that the last PAX type was intended to record the bargain alleged to have been made shortly before the death of Eadward as to Harold being his successor to the throne, and that the mule coins were issued from 29th September, 1065, to the death of Eadward, 5th January, 1066. Had not Eadward been daily expected to die, it is probable that the new obverse dies would have been issued at Christmas, 1065, but, in the circumstances, new obverse dies with Harold's head and name were issued as soon as possible after Eadward's death, and the new and last reverse type of the late king was adopted by Harold as being a party to the "pact" and the person most concerned in asserting it. Should this surmise be correct, it may, perhaps, also be taken that the earlier PACX type (Type V.) was struck to commemorate the alleged treaty as to the succession made on the occasion of the visit to King Eadward of William of Normandy. Earl Godwine and his sons had been banished, and his daughter, King Eadward's Queen, had been repudiated and sent in disgrace to Wherwell Abbey. The Norman prelates were in high favour with the king, and it would appear that in or about September, 1051, William came over to England

with a vast retinue of Normans. Florence of Worcester records that King Eadward honourably entertained him and his companions, and on their return made them many valuable presents.

I suggest, therefore, that 29th September, 1051, is the date of commencement of issue of Type V. (Pax type), and also that the fact of such a record having been issued to the public eye was a strong incentive to Harold in the days of *his* greatest power and *Eadward's* greatest weakness to have issued for public enlightenment a type of coin recording the rival and later treaty between Eadward and Harold.

The year 1051 is also notable by reason of the fact that in that year King Eadward released the English from the heavy tax payable to the Danish troops, in other words the Danegelt, about sixty years after his father Æthelræd II had first imposed it.

We have, therefore, four types to account for prior to 29th September, 1051, viz. from 8th June, 1042, to 29th September, 1051, and, including the first Pax type, seven types from 29th September, 1051, to the death of King Eadward on the 5th January, 1066. Eadward's first type was a mere continuation of Harthacnut's last type, and probably ceased to be issued at the first Michaelmas after his succession, viz. 29th September, 1042. This gives a period of three years from Michaelmas to Michaelmas for each of the Types II., III., & IV., which corresponds with the period of issue in the reigns of William I. and William II. After the remission of the Danegelt the period of issue of each type appears to have been reduced to two years, as, counting from 29th September, 1051, the remaining seven types, viz. V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., and XI,

occupying two years each, computed from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, bring us to 29th September, 1065. It is fair to conjecture that after the abolition of the Dane-gelt the people were better able to support the charges consequent on a more frequent change of the type of coin.

When, in the early years of the reign of William I., the tax of monetagium was imposed, the old rule of a change of type once in *three* years was reverted to. The coins themselves from the commencement of the issue of the Pax type to the close of the reign (with the exception of the "small full face" type) are heavier in weight than those issued prior to the remission of the Danegelt. It is part of my *theory* that the mule coins were issued from Michaelmas to Christmas after the introduction of a new reverse type, perhaps for the express purpose of preserving a record of sequence. The "artificial" mules with full face resembling Type X. and the reverse of Type XI. present the strongest argument in favour of this theory, as in those instances new obverse dies had to be specially engraved. The mules of Type VIII. ("sovereign" type) and Type IX. also go far to prove that the mule coins were not made to *deceive* or *evade*, as no dies could be more *dissimilar* than the obverse of Type VIII. and that of Type IX. The view generally hitherto accepted is, however, that the *mule* specimens resulted from economy on the part of the moneyers, who continued to use the lower, or obverse dies, after the less durable upper, or reverse dies, had become broken or otherwise worn out. Having given the reasons for the arrangement, the following presents in tabular form the result arrived at:—



Number and name of type	Hildebrand's reference	Dr Head's reference ( <i>Num. Chron.</i> ), 1867.	Brit Mus Catalogue reference.	Period of issue
I. "Harthacnut" type	c, var. d	none	iii, var. c	{ June 8, 1042, to Sept 29, 1042
II. "Radiate crown" type (Hks, 226)	A	I	i	{ Sept. 29, 1042, to Sept. 29, 1045
III. "Quadrilateral" type (Hks, 220)	C	III	iii	{ Sept 29, 1045, to Sept 29, 1048
IV. "Small" type (Hks, 229)	B	II	ii	{ Sept 29, 1048, to Sept 29, 1051
V "Pax" type (Hks, 221)	D	IV	iv	{ Sept. 29, 1051, to Sept. 29, 1053
VI "Expanding cross" type (Hks, 219)	E	V	v	{ Sept 29, 1053, to Sept. 29, 1055
VII. "Pointed helmet" type (Hks., 227)	F	VI	vii	{ Sept. 29, 1055, to Sept 29, 1057
VIII. "Sovereign" type (Hks, 228)	H	VII	ix	{ Sept. 29, 1057, to Sept 29, 1059
IX. "Cross and Segment" type (Hks, 222)	G	VIII	xi	{ Sept. 29, 1059, to Sept 29, 1061
X. "Small full-face" type (Hks, 225)	A, var. C	IX	xiii	{ Sept. 29, 1061, to Sept 29, 1063
XI. "Pyramid" type	I, var. b	X	xv	{ Sept 29, 1063, to Sept. 29, 1065
XI. Harold II . . . . .	L	none	xvii	{ Sept. 29, 1065, to Christmas, 1065

It only remains to add that, where not otherwise indicated, the coins described in this article are in the collection of the writer.

P. CARLYON-BRITTON.

## MISCELLANEA.

PLUMBAGO MOULD FOR THE FABRICATION OF COINS OF HENRY VII (*see* PL. IX.)—I happened some little time ago to be staying in Carlisle, and whilst there visited the Tullie House, which is the local museum and art gallery.

The town possesses a very excellent collection of Roman

antiquities, which have been found in the neighbourhood from time to time, particularly along the line of the Wall; the collection being very rich in altars and memorial stones. Among other things, I noticed a very remarkable pair of moulds, made of plumbago, for the contemporary fabrication of silver coins of Henry VII (1485-1509).

These moulds were discovered in a cairn of stones at Netherwasdale, in Cumberland, in the month of April, 1865, and formed the subject of a paper in the *Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society's Journal* for the year 1878, by Chancellor Fergusson. I thought, however, that the subject was one of sufficient importance and interest to merit being brought before the notice of the Numismatic Society.

The Plate shows the two halves of the mould, which are made from graphite; the upper portion weighs 5 oz. 7 dr, the lower 5 oz. 3 dr. The surface of the mould is cut away around the matrices, which are in consequence raised above their surroundings; as a result of this, when the metal was poured and the mould opened the cast came away in a single sheet, the individual coins requiring to be cut out subsequently.

During the process of casting the two halves of the mould were kept in position by means of a peg passed through one corner. Experiment has shown that the best results may be obtained by using the moulds in a heated condition, as otherwise the metal is liable to set too soon, and, in consequence, to incompletely fill the mould.

In regard to the coins represented, we first observe a groat, which may belong to either Edward IV, Richard III, or the first coinage of Henry VII, since no name can be deciphered; but as all the other coins represented are those of Henry VII, it is reasonable to suppose that this coin is in reality a London groat, as the reverse reads CIVITAS LONDON, of the first coinage, *i.e.* with open crown.

The half-groat is of Henry's second coinage, the king being represented with an arched crown, M.M. cross, and purports to be of Canterbury, as the reverse indicates, CIVITAS CANTOR. The remaining three coins are all pence of the third coinage of the sovereign type; of these two are of the York type, having two keys on the reverse, the third is of London. These moulds were doubtless produced in Cumberland, as plumbago is only to be obtained in that portion of England, and would no doubt be made by one who well understood the capabilities of graphite. The forger was evidently a well-read man, since he was able to write, an accomplishment at that time limited to the Church, and not only able to write, but able to do so in a retrograde manner. We may take it, then, that the man

who executed this work was in all probability a native of Cumberland, and not unlikely a lay brother of Furness, who was accustomed to work in metal.

The reproduction of coins for unlawful gain has been known from the earliest times, moulds in clay, as used by the Romans for the manufacture of denarii, having come down to us in large numbers, but of the use of plumbago for this purpose this is the only example which has, to my knowledge, survived.

I have to record my thanks to the curator of the Carlisle Museum, Mr. A. Sparke, for his permission to have the photograph taken from which the plate has been reproduced.

PHILIP NELSON.

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AN UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF THE GROAT OF THE FIRST  
COINAGE OF HENRY VII.



OF the first or open crown groats of Henry VII that with the mint mark of the fleur-de-lys upon a rose is probably the best known and the least rare. It is, however, a very interesting coin with much historical significance. The fleur-de-lys appears as a distinguishing mark on the earliest coins of Henry VI, and was continued—at least, on the gold coins—throughout the whole of his reign. It was revived on the angels and half angels struck during his short restoration in 1470–71, where it took the place of the rose of Edward IV at the side of the ship's mast, and, I think, from all these circumstances there can be no doubt of its having been regarded by Henry VI and his adherents as his own special emblem. This being so, it would naturally, after his death, continue to be considered emblematical of the Lancastrian cause. Although his claim was of the weakest nature in reality, we know that Henry VII endeavoured to make himself accepted by the people as the heir and representative of Henry VI, and that when circumstances constrained him to make a compromise by marrying the heiress of Edward IV

he was most unwilling to acknowledge that he derived any additional right to the throne by the marriage, although he was unable at first to ignore the fact that a large portion of his subjects considered his wife, Elizabeth of York, as the rightful Sovereign of England. The mint-mark of the fleur-de-lys upon a rose appears rather well to exemplify the political aspect of the time shortly after Henry's accession. The fleur-de-lys representing the Lancastrian cause and his own is united with the rose of Edward IV, but hardly on equal terms, as the former is distinct and complete, and is in front of the latter, which is partially obscured by it.

The groat to which I now wish to draw attention, while as regards its mint-mark carrying out the same idea as to the union of the causes of York and Lancaster, does so in a distinctly different manner, and may be described as follows:—

*Obv. M M.*—Lys and rose dimidiated;  $\text{HENRIQ' DI} \int \text{GRX'}$   
 $\text{RAX} \times \text{ANGL'}$    $\text{FRANQ} \int$ ; arch of tressure on  
 breast not fleured.—Bust facing, with open  
 crown.

*Rev. M. M.*—Lys and rose dimidiated;  $\text{POSVI} \int \text{D'VM} \int \text{ADIV-}$   
 $\text{TORQ'}$   $\times \text{D'VM}$ .— $\text{QIVITAS LONDON}$  Long cross.

The mint-mark on this coin is remarkable in this—it so closely resembles and carries out the idea of the rose and sun dimidiated on the coins of Edward V and Richard III. The coin which is illustrated is fortunately very distinct and perfectly struck as regards the mint-mark, and shows the half lys and half rose very clearly defined and of as large size as the space admits. I should consider this groat to be an example of the earliest silver coins struck after the accession of Henry VII, and it may perhaps be contemporary with the rare angels and half angels on which the rose and sun appear as a mint-mark. I have on more than one occasion seen in sale catalogues groats of Henry VII's first coinage described as having the rose and sun as a mint-mark, but on careful examination of the coins I have always found that it was a blurred or otherwise imperfect striking of the rose on lys mark, and I doubt whether an unquestionable example exists. I believe, however, that the groat which I now describe fills the place the rose on lys groat would have occupied had it ever been struck, and I venture to think that the resemblance of the coin in question to those of the two previous reigns is particularly interesting. I may add that it is an unpublished variety

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

## XI.

### SOME NOTES ON COINS ATTRIBUTED TO PARTHIA.

(See Plate X.)

FOURTEEN years ago I was permitted to publish in the *Numismatic Chronicle* some notes on the initial coinage of Parthia. The recent appearance of Mr. Wroth's Catalogue of the Parthian Coins in the British Museum, which has done so much to illuminate the whole series, tempts me to return to the subject in order to make a few comments on some doubtful points in this most difficult inquiry, and to modify some former views of my own.

Not that I can come to any other conclusion than I did, on the facts as they were and are generally accepted, but I begin to have the strongest suspicions that certain coins which have been generally accepted as genuine, and which dominate the problem, are very doubtful indeed. It is always an uncomfortable thing to raise issues about the genuineness of coins, and, as a friend of mine said to me not long ago, it is the easiest way of answering an argument to pronounce the witnesses dishonest. In the present case, however, we start with a very strong suspicion. The dealer from whom all the coins I am now criticizing were, I believe, ultimately obtained—namely, the late Chanda Mall of Rawul Pindi—was a notorious manufacturer of antiquities and coins.

He took in nearly all the great museums, and he also deceived two of the keenest judges I ever knew, the late Sir Wollaston Franks and the late General Cunningham, as they often told me, and as they indeed proved to me by showing me the actual evidences of his handiwork. He certainly employed some skilled fingers in his service, and was also a sharp person. He knew the Indian coin collectors well, and was on especially intimate terms with General Cunningham, whom he so grossly deceived, although none was a keener judge than he of Indian antiquarian matters. Thus he came to know what the antiquaries had written, and what they greatly desired to have, namely, fresh types and forms of coins and other antiques. To such an extent did his sophistications go that it is quite plain a *primâ facie* suspicion attaches to everything that came from his hands. I do not say that he never dealt in genuine things, but that everything bought from him needs to justify itself.

The coins whose genuineness I propose to call in question are those bearing the name of Andragoras, consisting of gold staters and silver tetradrachms.

We will begin with the gold coins. These coins are very odd in appearance in every way. Three specimens are known to me—two in the British Museum, of which one came directly from the very suspicious hands of the dealer Chanda Mall, and the other belonged to General Cunningham. These two coins are from different dies (Pl. X., Fig. 1). The third one is at Berlin, and came from Mr. Alexander Grant, so that they are all of Indian provenance. They are entirely different from any other coins of Greek fabric or quasi-Greek fabric that have come from any of the countries bordering on India; and when we examine them more closely our

doubts rapidly increase. On the obverse, we have a bearded male head with the hair long, and treated (as is the beard) in a very conventional and curious manner. The hair is bound by a taenia, and round the neck is a nondescript garment, neither a chlamys nor yet a royal robe. This head greatly puzzled Mr. Gardner when he discussed the coin. In the Catalogue of Bactrian Coins he speaks of it as that of Zeus. When he first described it, however, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, he said, "I have called the head of the obverse that of Zeus, but without full confidence. The Oriental character of the treatment of the hair and beard is not to be mistaken. If we are to see here a representation of the great deity of the Hellenes, it must be confessed that he has been considerably modified, taking on probably the nature of Baal or Ormuzd. . . . The hair is arranged in a strange and unique manner in tiers or rows of locks, bringing to our mind the idea of Assyrian rather than Greek art" (*op. cit.*, 1879, p. 2.) I may add that the occurrence of a taenia instead of a wreath on a god's head is a very unusual thing. All this is surely very suspicious, and ought to arouse the gravest doubt about the coins, and I venture to think that the head has in fact been copied, with some slight alterations, from that of Zeus on a tetradrachm of Antiochus I, figured by Mr. Gardner on the same page, which came from India, and which is treated, it seems to me, in a similar way, but wears a wreath. So much for the obverse.

The reverse is still more extraordinary, and I have no doubt myself it is directly copied from the similar reverse on some of the Roman Republican denarii (see Pl. X., Fig. 2). It represents Mars being driven in a

quadriga by a winged Victory. The figures of Mars and Victory occur in this way on Roman, and nowhere, so far as I know, on Greek coins. On this coin, again, the figure of Mars is dressed in the Roman military fashion, and wears a Roman cuirass, and not a Greek one. Two of my friends in the British Museum who are skilled in Greek archaeology, and to whom I have submitted it, confirm my opinion on this point. The shape of the chariot and its wheels, and the form of the horses is just like those on the Roman denarii; but the most singular, and to me the conclusive thing, is the treatment of the horses' legs, which, instead of being carefully modelled, as they are on Greek gold coins, such as those of Philip of Macedon, are treated *exactly* in the same way that the horses' legs are treated on the Roman denarii in question, namely, with little lumps or dots on the joints, involving a very peculiar and unmistakable *technique*. The name ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ is written in Greek letters in the exergue of the reverse. This is the internal evidence of the coins. I may say that, having had my suspicions completely aroused by this analysis, I asked Mr. Grueber's opinion about the two gold staters in question, without disclosing my doubts, when he pronounced them both to be most suspicious.

Unfortunately, this conclusion cannot stand alone. There is another gold coin in the Museum (see Pl. X., Fig. 3), also bought at the same time from Chanda Mall, which must suffer the same fate, while it adds further suspicion to the coins already discussed. It is so far, I believe, unique. The obverse has a king's head on it. It is bearded, and wears a leather cap with flaps, which is tied under the chin, just like some of the heads on well-known coins sometimes called sub-Parthian, and



classed as belonging to the rulers of Persis by Dr. Mordtmann, and to Armenia by Mr. Thomas, and only differs from them in having a nondescript garment over the breast and shoulders, instead of the bare neck the king has, on the other staters above referred to. This is, however, only a minor, if a suspicious detail. Mr. Gardner classed the coin, on the supposition that it was genuine, with the sub-Parthian coins in question, of which a considerable series is known in silver, but none, other than this specimen, in gold; but these coins have all the fire altar on their reverse, and are consequently quite inconsistent with the reverse on this stater. The head is roughly and coarsely modelled, and has a very uncomfortable and modern look.

What is much more ominous, however, is the reverse. Here we have a chariot drawn by four horses, modelled almost exactly like the one on the coins last described. Mr. Gardner says himself that "the attitude of the horses, who gallop in step, and the position of the chariot is the same as on the coins of Andragoras," *i.e.* the coins I consider to be false. The peculiar modelling of the horses' legs, resembling that on the Roman denarii, is here again reproduced exactly, as is the drawing of the horses themselves. The only difference is that on this coin the figure driving the chariot wears a Persian leather head-dress, as on the obverse, while the wheels of the chariot have an incongruous ring of dots round them quite unknown elsewhere and meaningless. It is another curious feature that the only occupant of the chariot should be the charioteer.

Let us now turn to the inscriptions on this coin. These have perplexed everybody, and well they may. They are professedly in Aramaic, and I am not aware

that any Aramaic legends occur on the coins of farther Asia at all, and certainly none occur on Parthian coins till the close of the Parthian series. The inscriptions themselves are most suspicious. In the first place the letters are fashioned with that firm decided outline and precise shape which one sees in Aramaic in books, but not in Aramaic in inscriptions. Secondly, the four Aramaic letters under the quadriga are the first four letters of the principal inscription on a rude imitation of a gold stater of Alexander, which has been in the British Museum for a long time, and came with the Payne Knight collection, whose genuineness can hardly be doubted. On what I deem to be the sophisticated coin they read 𐤌𐤕𐤌𐤕, while on what I consider to be its original they read 𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤌. The latter inscription runs down behind the figure of Nike on the reverse of the coin, and is no doubt the king's name. In the coin I deem a copy, as on the supposed Andragoras stater, it is put into the exergue, which seems an unusual place for a royal name. On the other hand, on the doubtful coin, a second name is written on the obverse behind the head thus: 𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤌.

This last inscription has puzzled everybody, and has been read in various ways, none of them satisfactory. It seems to me to be made up. The last two letters are a duplicate of the first two, and, what has not been noticed, they merely reproduce the first two letters on the Payne Knight stater above quoted, the inscription on which has been divided in two in order to make up this one. The third or middle letter seems to me to be very doubtfully Aramaic, and to be a complete sophistication.

Under these circumstances I cannot help concluding that the gold coin I am describing was manufactured

by Chanda Mall, who based it partially on a silver coin of the sub-Parthian class (see Pl. X., Fig. 4), and partially on a late Roman denarius.

In addition to this, the internal evidence of the coins themselves, there is the difficulty of understanding how any but an *independent* ruler could have struck coins in gold at this time. If so, when could he have reigned? The Parthians never struck gold coins, nor is there one known of the sub-Parthian class with the fire-altar on the reverse, nor of Armenia, nor of Cappadocia. Where else are we to go for gold coins with Aramaic legends or with the name of a Greek dynast on them?

Let us now turn to the silver coins assigned to Andragoras. One of them was presented to the Museum by Sir W. Franks (Pl. X., Fig. 6), and the other by General Cunningham (Pl. X., Fig. 5). Sir W. Franks bought his for a large sum when the Museum was short of money, and presented it. It had been offered to the Museum by the same notorious Chanda Mall. The second specimen came with the Cunningham collection.

While there is no great disparity between the weights of these coins, which are 255·8 and 252·4 grs. respectively, the size of the former is 1·15, and of the latter only 0·95, so until weighed they look like coins of different denominations. They are from different dies.

The types on these coins are very singular. On the obverse is the head of a female wearing a civic crown, a type quite unknown in the Numismatics of the Far East, and a very incongruous one for a regal coin of Andragoras, or for any regal coin at all.

This head has nothing in common, it seems to me, either in its facial contour, the method of doing the hair, or the pose of the neck with a Greek head, but

presents to my mind the peculiar qualities of a work by a Hindoo artist. The mural crown is something like that on the coins of Aradus and Marathus, in Phoenicia, where, however, the female head has a veil (see Pl. X., Fig. 7). The crown itself, however, is pierced in a curious way, and in this respect resembles the mural crowns on similar heads on Roman denarii, as does the peculiar way in which the hair is treated (see Babelon, *Mon. rép. rom.*, i. 526, and ii. 324).

The reverse is also very singular. It has on it a figure of Athene, holding an owl or other bird in her right hand, and resting her left on a shield. When we come to examine the details, however, its suspicious character at once appears. The lance has its head pointing downwards instead of upwards, and instead of its being held in either hand or in the fold of the elbow, it stands quite unattached and unsupported behind the figure in an impossible way, and in a way we cannot conceive a Greek artist designing it, and yet it occurs on both coins. (For the way in which a lance is held on a genuine coin, see Babelon, *Monnaies des Rois de Syrie*, xxv. 7.)

The dress of the figure is still more incongruous. As Mr. Cecil Smith pointed out to me, the man who designed the figure had no idea how such a dress was worn, and he has converted a part of the well-known Greek dress into a sort of scarf or shawl. Mr. Smith accordingly ventured, as I had done on very different grounds, to suspect the coin.

The nearest types to this standing Athene with the lance, and leaning on her shield, as Mr. Head has pointed out to me, are found on coins of the Kings of Cappadocia (see Pl. X., Fig. 8) and on those of Alexander Bala, but

on these the Athene holds a Nike in her hand, and not an owl or some other bird, and is of quite different technique.

The fact is that these tetradrachms, like the gold coins above discussed, seem to me to be unmistakably the handiwork of Chanda Mall. The name Andragoras upon them is a further piece of evidence against them. It is, I believe, a spurious name derived from Justin, whose work is a by-word for mistakes of all kinds, and whose statements, the only ones we have unfortunately in regard to some parts of Eastern history, had been made very familiar in India by General Cunningham's writings.

It is well to discuss this point at somewhat greater length. Of Justin we know very little. He was clearly from his latinity a late writer, but as he is quoted by Jerome he doubtless lived before the fifth century. He is professedly a mere epitomizer, and has been generally accepted as an honest one. He tells us in his preface that his object in writing was really to give an epitome of the general history of Trogius Pompeius, and it is probable that the faults and misstatements with which Justin has been charged were really due to the work he copied.

Trogius Pompeius apparently lived in the reign of Augustus, and he compiled a general history of the world in Latin in forty-four books, which he entitled *Historiae Philippicae*, which is now lost except in so far as it has been preserved by Justin. His title, and perhaps a large part of his work, were apparently translated and taken from the *Philippica* of Theopompus.

Justin first names an Andragoras in his Book XII, Chapter 4, where he tells us that "having defeated the Parthians, Alexander set over them Andragoras, sprung

from the Persian nobles, from whom the Parthian kings afterwards claimed descent." It has been naturally objected that these facts are not consistent with his bearing such a purely Greek name as Andragoras—a variant, by the way, gives the name as Mandragoras (see Droyssen, Fr. ed., ii. 348, note 3). I tried to escape from the difficulty in my previous paper by arguing that, having been in the service both of the Persian and the Macedonian king, he may have had a Greek as well as a Persian name. This was, however, when I still believed in the validity of the coins bearing the name Andragoras. Not believing in them any longer, I am constrained to join those who altogether reject the statement about Alexander having appointed an Andragoras as his satrap in Parthia, for the good reason that he appointed an entirely different person, as is attested by competent authorities. Among these, the best is Arrian, who in his account of Alexander's expedition, tells us how on the death of Darius, Alexander, having sent his body to be buried among the Persian kings, appointed Amminapes the Parthian, who, with Mazaces, had surrendered Egypt to him, governor of Parthia and Hyrcania (*op. cit.*, iii. ch. 22). Curtius calls Amminapes "Manapin," and adds that he had been a refugee at the court of Philip. He only speaks of his having received Hyrcania, and not Parthia; and Arrian seems here to be mistaken, for not only was it not the practice of Alexander to appoint new satraps to districts still unconquered, as Parthia at this time was, but he presently tells us that as he was marching into Hyrcania, Phrataphernes, who had been Satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania under Darius, surrendered to him.

Phrataphernes was now reinstated in his old government, and Arrian tells us how as satrap of the Parthians he was sent against the forces of Bessos (Arrian, lib. iii. ch. 28). When Alexander reached Zariaspa we are told that he was joined by Phrataphernes, Satrap of Parthia. He took with him as prisoner Barzanes, who, having been appointed satrap of the same province by Bessos, had now deserted him (*Ibid.*, lib. iv. 7). A little later we find Phrataphernes sent by Alexander to bring Autophradates, the governor of the Mardi and Topiri in chains to him (*Ibid.*, lib. iv. ch. 18). While he was on the borders of India, Alexander was joined by Phrataphernes, Satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, with the Thracians in his charge (*Ibid.*, lib. v. ch. 20). When the great conqueror reached the capital of the Gedrosii on his way home he was joined by Pharasmenes the son of Phrataphernes, Satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania (*Ibid.*, lib. vi. ch. 27), and the latter himself brought a large succour of camels, etc., to his help.

Among the causes of discontent which showed themselves on Alexander's arrival at Susa was the promotion of many Persians and others in the Imperial cavalry. Among these are specially mentioned Pharasmenes and Sissinnes, sons of Phrataphernes the Satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania (*Ibid.*, lib. vii. ch. 6). Nothing can be clearer, therefore, than that, according to Arrian, throughout his whole career, from the very conquest of Parthia to his death, Phrataphernes was the satrap of that country. The statements of Arrian are amply confirmed by those of Curtius, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that Justin's mention of Andragoras as the Parthian Satrap in the time of Alexander is absolutely mistaken and false. If an Andragoras was ever Satrap of Parthia under the

Greeks, it must have been at a later time. Even if he had been, it is impossible to conceive how he could have struck gold and silver money within the dominions of his Imperial master without mentioning his name on them. Alexander, as we know, was, like the Persian kings, most exacting in regard to any other person striking gold coins but himself.

Justin's further statement that on Alexander's death Stasanor, whom he calls a foreign ally, took the government of Parthia, because none of the Macedonians would take it (xli. ch. 4), is inconsistent with his previous statement (xiii. 4) that Nicanor took the Parthians and Philip the Hyrcanians. Both statements seem equally untrue. As Diodorus tells us (xviii. 3), Phrataphernes was, in fact, confirmed in the satrapy of Parthia and Hyrcania.

Dexippus, in *Photius*, lib. 82, does not mention Parthia, but says that Phrataphernes received Hyrcania from Perdiccas. It was not until the second partition of the satrapies in 321 B.C. by Antipater that he would seem to have been deprived, or possibly he had meantime died. Philip, who had previously held the Satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana, was then transferred to Parthia (no doubt with Hyrcania.) Philip was put to death in 318 B.C. by Pithon, who replaced him by his brother Eudamos, as both Arrian (fragment quoted by Photius) and Diodorus (xix. 14) tell us.

It would seem, therefore, that up to this point every statement made by Justin about Parthia and its government after its conquest by Alexander is false. He goes on to say, and probably correctly, that the Parthians took the side of Eumenes in the struggles which followed, and on his defeat they went over to Antigonus. After his



death they remained subject to Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus the First.

At this point Justin's testimony and that of Arrian are again at issue, and we can have no hesitation in abiding by the latter. First about the date of the Parthian revolt.

Justin (lib. xli. ch. 4) tells us the Parthians revolted in the reign of Seleucus, whom he calls the great-grandson (*pronepos*) of Seleucus (that is, doubtless, of Seleucus Callinicus, who reigned 246-226 B.C.) He further says that this was during the first Punic war, and when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls. They were consuls in B.C. 256, and defeated Hamilcar in that year, but this was in the reign of Antiochus the Second, and ten years before the accession of Seleucus.

In the year 250 B.C. M Vulso was again consul, not with Marcus, however, but with Caius Atilius Regulus, and the first Punic war was still in progress. Inasmuch as some MSS. of Justin omit the letter marking the initial of Marcus, it has been suggested that his reference to the revolt really covers the latter year; but unfortunately this date is also inconsistent with the statement about the revolt having taken place in the reign of Seleucus, for it is four years before his accession. It is clear, therefore, that Justin's testimony about the date of the Parthian revolt is worthless.

Arrian, on the other hand, in a passage of his lost work on the Parthians, distinctly puts the Parthian revolt in the reign of Antiochus Theos. Zosimus (*Hist.*, lib. i. ch. 18), who may be copying Arrian, does the same. The Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Arm.*, ii. 1 *ad fin.*), distinctly says the revolt took place in the eleventh year of Antiochus Theos; while Eusebius says,

“Olym. 132-3 (*i.e.* B.C. 250-49) Parthi a Macedonibus defecerunt.”

A more satisfactory testimony comes to us from another source. In his *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 309, George Smith discussed a tablet dated both in the Seleucidan era and in that of Parthia. The date is written “Month . . . 23rd day 144th year, which is called 208th year, Arsaces King of Kings.” This document, really dating from 105 B.C., proves, according to G. Smith, that the first year of the Parthian era coincides with the 65th of the Seleucidan, which last year commenced in October, 248. It is curious that in St. Jerome’s translation of Eusebius he puts the revolt in Olym. cxxxiii. 1, *i.e.* 248-7 B.C. The Greek chronologist cited by Scaliger does the same, and this seems the best attested date we can reach.

Let us now turn to the actual story of the revolt. Justin tells us that during the disputes between the two brothers Seleucus and Antiochus, one Arsakes, a man of uncertain origin, but of undisputed bravery, who was accustomed to live by rapine, hearing that Seleucus was overcome by the Gauls in Asia, invaded Parthia with a band of marauders (Strabo says, “with the Parni, who were nomades, a tribe of the Dahae”), overthrew Andragoras, the lieutenant of Seleucus, and after putting him to death took upon himself the government of the country.”

Here we have the mention of another Andragoras by Justin, who in this instance is made the lieutenant of Seleucus, but this statement again is at issue with that of Arrian.

Arrian says in the fragment of his history of the Parthians preserved by Photius (Muller, *Frag.*, p. 248) that the Parthians were Scythians and subject to the

Macedonians after the defeat of the Persians. The cause of their revolt was that there were two Arsacidan brothers, Arsakes and Tiridates, descended from Phriapites (*i.e.* in Zend Freyapetis = Philadelphus). Pherekles, the satrap appointed by Antiochus Theos, having tried to outrage one of the brothers, they killed him, and having communicated their plan to five others, they called upon their people to revolt against the Macedonians. George the Syncellus (ed. Bonn, p. 539), a late chorographer who invokes the authority of Arrian, nevertheless has a story not quite consistent with this. He tells us that the two brothers mentioned by Arrian were descended, not from Phriapites, as Arrian says, but from Artaxerxes. This, as General Cunningham says, is perhaps accounted for by the statement of Ctesias, that Artaxerxes Mnemon before his accession to the throne bore the name of *Arsikas*. This is not the only difference. The name of the Macedonian governor whom the Monk George calls the Eparch of Persia, and who is given as Pherekles (the Macedonian form of Pericles) by Arrian was, he says, Agathocles. By Persia he no doubt means Parthia, for he elsewhere speaks of Arsakes as reigning for two years over the Persians. The use of the correct term "eparch" by this late author is to his credit. He calls the Macedonian eparch, as we have seen, Agathocles, and not Pherekles, as Arrian does. No one but Justin calls him Andragoras.

We thus see upon what an entirely delusive basis the whole story about this Andragoras rests. Even if Andragoras was his name, however, the notion that he would have dared to coin money in gold as well as silver in his own name when, as Justin himself says, he was the lieutenant of Seleucus, seems to me quite fantastic, and if he had done so he would assuredly have gone for his

types to something rather more familiar to his subjects in the reign of Seleucus Callinicus. The types of the coins we are criticizing are, in fact, quite inconsistent with such a date and with such an origin. Mr. Head, who believes in the authenticity of the coins, or, at least, of one of them which came from General Cunningham, agrees with me in considering that Justin's two satraps called Andragoras, are very improbable as the issuers of these coins, and he would assign them to a later period, and perhaps to some rebellious governor or satrap; but where are we to find such a person in our not scanty literature of the Seleucidan period?

What seems plain to me from all the story is that the clever person at Rawul Pindi, to whom we have traced the coins—coins which we have shown to be themselves untrustworthy, had himself relied on a very broken reed in relying on Justin, whose early history of the Parthians is a mass of contradictions, including, no doubt, the creation of the phantom ruler Andragoras.

Let us now turn to other elements of the story. Justin, as we have seen, merely refers to Arsakes as a leader of marauders. Strabo calls these latter Parni, and describes them as a section of the Dahae who lived on the banks of the Ochus (*i.e.* the Oxus), and who were apparently a tribe of Arian nomads living in the steppes of Khwarezm, or Khiya.

Strabo probably followed Apollodoros of Artemita (a place near Babylon), whom he quotes, and who wrote a work on the history of the Parthians, entitled *Παρθικά*. He says the first king of the Parthians, Arsakes, according to some was a Bactrian, who, withdrawing himself from the increasing power of Diodotus, occasioned the revolt of

Parthia (*op. cit.*, xi. ch. 9). The Armenians were afterwards ruled by a branch of the Arsacidae, and had a tradition of their own about their origin. This we can trace back as far as the Syrian writer, Mar Apas Catina, who is quoted by Moses of Chorene, and who, according to the excellent authority of Victor Langlois, was also the source of the same story in the chronicle of the Armenian patriarch, John Catholicos. He also identifies him with the Catina mentioned by St. Jerome in the first chapter of his Commentaries on Ezekiel. Moses of Chorene makes him the actual contemporary of Mithridates the Great, of Parthia.

The Syrian author tells us that "sixty years after the death of Alexander the brave Arsakes reigned over the Parthians in the city called Pahl Aravadin in the country of the Kushans (*i.e.* at Balkh.) He waged a furious war, conquered all the East, and drove the Macedonians from Babylon." It will be seen that neither Strabo nor the Armenian tradition gives Arsakes a brother Tiridates as Arrian does.

Isidore of Charax, who lived and wrote among the Parthians, says in his *Stathmoi* that Arsakes, or Ashk, as he calls him, lived in the town of Asaak in the country of Astauene, not far from the desert and the Caspian sea. Parthaunisa (*vide infra*), situated further to the East, contained the tombs of "the Ashkanes."

Droyssen, who seems to favour the Bactrian origin of Arsakes, suggests that he was possibly descended from one of the hyparchs, or pehluvans, of Bactria and Sogdiana, summoned by Alexander to meet him at Zariaspa (Droyssen, iii. 347, note 2).

Of Arrian's history of the Parthians we unfortunately only have a fragment remaining. In it he does not tell

us what happened after the revolt of the two brothers, but George the Syncellus no doubt preserves Arrian's conclusions in his fragmentary narrative. According to him, Arsakes reigned two and a half years, *i.e.* probably 248-246 B.C., when he was killed, and was then succeeded by his brother, who reigned thirty-seven years, *i.e.* 246-209 B.C. Suidas, who probably also relies on Arrian, says Arsakes was killed by a stroke from a lance.

It has generally been the practice to assign the various events attributed by Justin to the founder of the dynasty whom he and others call Arsakes, to the Tiridates of Arrian, and this may be the best tentative solution in a difficulty where we have no really very positive light. Justin says that not long after the death of Andragoras Arsakes made himself master of Hyrcania (it will be remembered that Parthia and Hyrcania were really united in one satrapy), and that he raised a large army through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus (really Diodotus), King of the Bactrians, but being soon relieved by the death of Theodotus, he made peace with his son of the same name, and soon after defeated Seleucus; and the Parthians observed the day of defeat as the commencement of their liberty. Seleucus being called away by family disputes, Arsakes proceeded to levy soldiers, built fortresses, and fortified towns. He also founded a city called Dara, in Mount Zapaortenes, which was encircled with steep rocks, so that it needed no defenders. It was in the midst of a very fertile country ("the smiling landscape of Abivard," says Gutschmid). He died at a great age, and the Parthians called all subsequent kings after his name (*op. cit.*, xli. ch. 5). The struggle with Seleucus Callinicus here mentioned is confirmed by a very definite statement of Strabo (lib. xi. ch. 8), who, when speaking

of the Aspaciaceae, says that Arsakes fled to them from Seleucus Callinicus.

The fact that, contrary to the fashion of the Seleucidan kings, Seleucus wore a beard with which he is represented on some of his coins, and whence he was called Pogon, led Eckhel and others to suppose that Seleucus may have been himself taken prisoner by the Parthians, and thus adopted their mode of wearing a beard, but M. Babelon has shown that the passage of Posidonius quoted by Athenaeus, by which the story was supported, really refers to a Seleucus, son of Antiochus Sidetes (*Monnaies des Rois de Syrie*, lxx.). It seems very probable, however, that Seleucus Callinicus merely adopted the fashion of wearing a beard from having seen it so much worn in his Eastern campaign.

In regard to the city of Dara, said by Justin to have been founded by Arsakes, Justi identifies it with the valley of Derregez, east of Nisa, in the district of Apauartekem, which was the place where the mythical Afrasiab had his hunting-park, and which seems to answer to the Zapaortenes of Justin.

Isidore of Charax tells us, and no doubt rightly, that the capital of Parthyene, the original Parthia, was Parthaunisa, *i.e.* Nisa of the Parthians, which the Greeks called Nicaea (*Frag. Geog.*, i. 252). It may be the city still called Nishapur, *i.e.* the city of Nisa, which is the capital of Khorasan. Another Nisa, the birth-place of the famous Muhammed of Nisa, is situated between Mûra and Bâkhdi. It is a very ancient site, and the fifth blessed town mentioned in the *Vendidad*.

Other writers beside Justin report traditions about Arsakes. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that "the kingdom of Parthia after the death of Alexander received

its name from Arsaces, a youth of obscure birth, who in his early youth was a leader of bandits, but rose to high renown from his illustrious actions. After many splendid and glorious achievements, he defeated Seleucus Nicator" (Ammianus mistakes S. Nicator for S. Callinicus), "and having expelled the Macedonian garrisons, lived for the remainder of his life in peace, a merciful ruler of willing subjects, and after subduing the neighbouring districts, died a peaceful death in middle age, after filling Persia with flourishing cities and well-fortified towns and fortresses. He was the first among his people, in accordance with the tenets of their religion, to have his memory consecrated as among the stars. And it is from his era that the arrogant sovereigns of that nation have allowed themselves to be entitled brothers of the sun and moon. As the title of Augustus is cherished by our emperors, so all the dynasties won by this fortunate Arsaces are claimed by all the Parthian kings. So that they still worship Arsaces as a god, and in giving the Royal power they always choose one of his race, and in their cruel strife they always avoid wounding a descendant of Arsaces, whether in arms or living as a private individual" (*op. cit.*, lib. xxiii. ch. 6).

The Armenian tradition, as preserved by Mar Apas Catina, tells us that the first Arsakes sent envoys to make a treaty with the Romans against the Macedonians, and also sent them an annual present of one hundred talents (*kankar*). He says that he reigned thirty-one years, and was succeeded by his son Ardashes, who reigned twenty-six years.

Justin makes his first Arsakes to be succeeded by his son, a second Arsakes.

It has been argued that in Trogus Pompeius—the author



whom Justin epitomizes—the name of this second Arsakes was given as Artabanus, and this seems to have some justification, for although the work of Trogus is lost, the prologues of his various books remain; and in that of the 41st book we read, “In Parthis est constitutum imperium per Arsacen regem. Successores deinde ejus Artabanus et Tigranes cognomine Deus, a quo subfacta est Media et Mesopotamia.”

Justin tells us that Arsakes, the son of Arsakes, fought with the greatest bravery against Antiochus the son of Seleucus (*i.e.* Antiochus the Third, or the Great, who reigned 222–187 B.C.), who was at the head of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, and at last made an alliance with him (*Ibid.*, lib. xli. ch. 5).

This war is described in greater detail by Polybius (28–31). The Parthian king had apparently occupied Media, and had withdrawn on the approach of Antiochus. Polybius tells us he thought that Antiochus would advance as far as the desert separating Media from Parthia, but would not dare to cross it from the scarcity of water, but on finding he was determined to do so, he began to choke the wells. Antiochus, however, sent a thousand horse under Nicomedes to clear away those engaged in this work, and then continued his advance to Hecatompylos, which, according to Curtius (vi. 2), had been founded by Alexander. We are told it was situated in the middle of Parthia, and was so named because all the roads from the surrounding districts converged there. Having rested his men awhile, he advanced into Hyrcania, the approaches to which in the mountain defiles were guarded by the light troops of the Parthian king. He disposed his men accordingly, and sent his own light troops, the bowmen, slingers, etc.,

ahead under Diogenes, while the pioneers prepared the roads for the phalanx and the baggage animals. Next to their light troops went two thousand Cretans, armed with shields under Polyxenidas of Rhodes, while the rearguard, with breast-plate and shield, were led by Nicomedes of Cos and Nicolaus the Aetolian.

The transit of the mountains which bounded Hyrcania (the modern Ala tagh range, called Labus by Polybius) proved very trying, not merely from their ruggedness, but from the obstacles put in the way by the enemy. Diogenes turned these positions with the light troops, and enabled the pioneers to level the roads and to make a passage feasible for the heavy troops. The enemy now abandoned the slopes, and planted themselves on the crest of the mountain which the Macedonians reached after an arduous struggle of eight days, and there they defeated the Parthians, and then advanced into Hyrcania. Antiochus now advanced upon Tambrax, described as an unwall'd city of great size and containing a royal palace,<sup>1</sup> while most of the natives fled to the capital Sirigga (Sari), which was not far off. Antiochus proceeded to attack the place, which was defended by three trenches 30 cubits broad and 15 cubits deep, with a double vallum on the edge of each, behind which was a strong wall. After a desperate struggle the trenches were filled up and the walls undermined, the town was stormed, and the garrison, who had put the Greeks in the place to death, surrendered (*op. cit.*, lib. x. 28-31.) Polybius tells us no more of this war, and we are obliged to be content with the meagre statement of Justin that eventually

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas identifies it with the modern Barfarosh between Amol and Sari, *Num. Chron.*, 1871, p. 214.

the Parthian king became the friend of Antiochus "*in societatem ejus adsumptus est.*" Antiochus himself derived his title of Great from his campaigns against the Parthians and their Eastern neighbours.

According to Justin, the third king of the Parthians was called Priapatius, *i.e.* Phriapates, who was also named Arsakes; of him he records the solitary fact that he reigned fifteen years, leaving two sons, Phraates and Mithridates. The former, according to the same writer, subdued the Mardi.

Isidore of Charax, in one of the fragments of his *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, tells us that Phraates settled the Mardi in the city of Rhaga, *i.e.* the modern Rei on the south of the Elburz range (*Frag. Geog.*, i. 251). Justin tells us, further, that he died soon after this, and left several sons, whom he put aside in favour of his brother Mithridates, a person of conspicuous ability (*Ibid.*, xii. 5). As a matter of fact, the practice of brothers succeeding each other on the throne was apparently the established rule among the Parthians, as it was among most Eastern nations.

Justin tells us more definitely of Mithridates, that under this prince the fortunes of the Parthians were raised to the highest degree of power; *inter alia*, they overcame the Bactrians under their king Eucratides. He further tells us that Mithridates fought against the Medes and eventually conquered them and appointed Bacasis as their satrap. He then marched into Hyrcania (*i.e.* went home again, apparently to put down some outbreak), and on his return conquered the King of the Elymaeans and appropriated his kingdom. He extended the Parthian Empire by reducing many other tribes under his yoke from Mount Caucasus (*i.e.* the Indian

Caucasus, or Hindu Kush), to the river Euphrates and eventually died at a great age (*op. cit.*, xli. 5).

The victory of Mithridates over Eucratides, mentioned above by Justin, is confirmed by Strabo, who tells us the Parthians deprived both Eucratides and the Scythians of a part of Bactria by force of arms (*op. cit.*, xi. 9, 2). Elsewhere he says that he took from Eucratides the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva (*Ibid.*, xi. 11, 2).

Strabo in speaking of his victory over the Elymaeans, says that Mithridates had heard that the temples in their country contained great wealth. He invaded their country with a large army, and took the temple of Minerva and that of Diana called Azara, and carried away treasures to the amount of 10,000 talents. He also captured Seleucia, a large city on the river Hedyphon, formerly called Soloke (Strabo, xvi. I. 18).

In the prologue to the 41st book of Trogus Pompeius we are told that Tigranes, who conquered Media and Babylonia for the Parthians, was styled Deus, *i.e.* Theos. It is clear that Tigranes is here a mistake for Mithridates, for it was the latter who thus conquered Media and Babylonia, and the statement that the Parthians styled him Theos is a very important one numismatically. Justin also calls him Arsacides, and tells us how Demetrius, the Seleucid king, in order to wipe out his own character of effeminacy, determined to make war upon the Parthians. This delighted the people of the East, partly because of the cruelty of Arsacides, and partly because, having been accustomed to the old rule of the Macedonians, they could not tolerate the pride of the new race. Having received help from the Persians, Elymaeans and Bactrians, he routed the Parthians in several pitched battles, but having been captured by them under pretence of an

offer of peace, he was led from city to city and shown as a spectacle. He was eventually sent into Hyrcania, where he was treated kindly and with honour (*Ibid.*, xxxvi. 1). Mithridates also gave him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage, and promised to recover the throne of Syria for him, which Trypho had meanwhile usurped, but he died before he carried out this promise (*Ibid.*, xxxviii. ch. 9). The date when Demetrius was captured by the Parthians was probably 140 B.C., when the first series of his coins ceases. Mithridates had apparently a second war with Bactria, and took the larger part of his dominions from Heliocles, the son of Eucratides (Justin, xli. 6). His death is generally placed in the year 138 B.C., which must be nearly right, as Demetrius was released by his son Phraates.

It is time we should now discuss some of the earlier Parthian coins. These coins are, according to the accepted authorities on the subject, of two entirely different classes. In one class, which has been placed by the latest authorities, including Mr. Wroth, at the head of the whole series, the king is represented on the obverse as clean-shaven, and wears a kind of peaked cap, while the coins themselves, which are all drachms, have a rude and provincial look, and we cannot suppose that they were made by Greek artists. The other series is quite different, at all events in regard to the earlier kings, and the coins composing it are fine specimens of Greek workmanship. On them the king is invariably represented either whiskered or fully bearded, and the reverses are in style and character echoes and copies of the coins of the Seleucidae and of those of Bactria.

Let us for the present limit ourselves to the beardless class above mentioned, which seem to me to present a

very real difficulty and paradox. Mr. Wroth says in his catalogue of these coins, "They exist of many dies, and may well be the currency of a long period extending over more reigns than one." I quite agree that they are of many dies, but they seem to me to have, nevertheless, a great family and even closer likeness. As M. Allotte de la Fuye says of them, "Il est bien difficile de trouver dans les effigies des différences assez marquées pour permettre des attributions" (*Nouveau Classement*, etc., 28).

Let us now consider their date. We can only approximate to this by an inference, but this inference seems to me a very plausible one. Mr. Wroth has divided them into six classes according to the way the name Arsakes upon them is qualified. The first class, Mr. Wroth says, is rare, and is represented by a single drachm in the British Museum, and by two or three bronze coins with more or less uncertainty elsewhere. The specimen of the bronze coin in the Museum has on it the name Arsakes without any qualification. On the second class, of which there are eight drachms in the Museum, the name Arsakes is qualified with the title of Basileos simply. Neither of these classes offers us any assistance in regard to date. The remaining four classes contain qualifying words, which, when compared with the Seleucidan coinage from which the titles have almost certainly been taken, enable us to find at least a *terminus a quo* by which to date them (Pl. X., Figs. 9, 10, and 11).

The title ΘΕΟΥ which occurs on some of them does not appear on Seleucidan coins till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, who reigned 175-164 B.C.

That of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ until the reign of Timarchus, who reigned in 162 B.C.

That of ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ till the reign of Alexander Bala, 150-145 B.C.

That of ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ till the reign of Tryphon 142-139 B.C.

(See for the facts, Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie*, 226-227, and Wroth, *Catalogue of Parthia*, xxviii.-xxx.)

If the argument I have here used, therefore, is of any value, the coins belonging to Mr. Wroth's last four classes must have been struck after 175 B.C. Three of the classes must have been struck after 162 B.C.; two of them after 150 B.C.; and one of them after 142 B.C. That is to say, they must all have been struck during the period when, according to the received chronology of the early Parthian kings, Mithridates the First was reigning.

This is, of course, on the supposition that the titles in question were derived from the Seleucidan coins. It has been suggested, however, by Mr. Wroth that they may have been derived from the Bactrian coinage. This seems to me most improbable. The type on the reverse of the Parthian coins is directly copied from the Apollo on the omphalos which occurs as the principal type on the early Seleucidan coins, and I know of no early Parthian coins showing any connection with the Bactrian series, nor do I think it likely that the Parthians would have copied them until their conquest of a part of Bactria, which was in the reign of Mithridates.

Again, Mr. Wroth only suggests a possible Bactrian origin for the titles ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and ΘΕΟΥ, apparently quite conceding that the other two titles in dispute were derived from Seleucidan originals. In regard to ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, the first king of Bactria who used it was Eucratides, but he was the contemporary of Mithridates,

and defeated by him, and granting that he took over the title from him, it does not alter the fact that the so-called coins with beardless heads were not struck before the reign of Mithridates. In regard to the title ΘΕΟΥ, Mr. Wroth makes Antimachus and Agathocles, who are supposed to have used it in Bactria, contemporaries of Eucratides, and they therefore come precisely within the same rule as those signed ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; but the fact is, the date of Antimachus is quite uncertain, and probably later than has been supposed. This subject I hope to discuss on another occasion.

It seems plain, therefore, if the legends here referred to on the beardless coins were copied from those of the Seleucidae, as appears to me quite certain, or even from the Bactrian coins, that none of the coins bearing them and belonging to the four classes above named can be earlier than Mithridates, and all of them may have been struck by him. Mr. Wroth suggests, indeed, that some of them may have been so struck.

There remain only two classes, on one of which the king styles himself simply ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, and on the other ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. The latter series simply copy the ordinary inscription on the Seleucidan coins of this period. The only class, in fact, not so represented on Seleucidan coins is that with the name Arsakes without any qualification, which is a very rare class indeed. It will be remembered, however, that on a few of his coins Seleucus Nicator put his name without any qualifying title. I cannot see any good reason for assigning any of the beardless coins to an earlier reign than that of Mithridates, and I venture to respectfully question the view that they can be assigned to his predecessors. Mr. Gardner attributed some of them to Arsakes the First, and others



to his brother Tiridates, while Mr. Wroth assigns others to Phriapates and Phraates the First. The purely numismatic argument I have used may be supplemented by another, which is neatly stated by M. Allotte de la Fuye, when he says, "L'on aura quelque peine à admettre que ces souverains, dont quelques uns ont régné jusqu'à un âge assez avancé, soient représentés imberbes; alors que Mithridates 1<sup>er</sup> et ses successeurs portent la barbe dès le commencement de leur règne" (*op. cit.*, 28). This is not the only puzzle, however.

If we attribute all this rude series of beardless coins to Mithridates the First, what are we to do with the coins of true Greek fabric which have been generally attributed to the same king and his ancestors? I confess that the notion that the two classes of coins were issued by the same rulers simultaneously does not commend itself to me. The representation of a bearded king as beardless, or the reverse, would be to caricature him in the most offensive way among his own people, and these old-fashioned kings were not very prone to forgive offences of that kind.

Again, as Mr. Grueber suggests, to me it seems quite impossible to treat the reverses of these beardless coins as the originals of those of finer style on the bearded coins. They are clearly copies, debased copies, of the latter, and not their prototypes.

It seems to me there are only two ways of escaping from the difficulty. Either all the bearded coins are posterior to Mithridates the First, which seems almost incredible, or else the beardless coins do not belong to Parthia at all; and the fact that they differ so completely in style and in art from the coins of the later Parthian series makes the latter view, at all events, plausible. If

they do not belong to Parthia, what country do they belong to? Here I would make a suggestion, which I offer tentatively as a possible escape from our difficulty. If we turn to the Armenian writers, we shall find that they derive their famous royal house of the Armenian Arsacidæ from a brother of Mithridates I, King of Parthia. I propose to devote a few paragraphs to this obscure corner of Eastern history.

Justin tells us that when Mithridates conquered Media and drove out Ortoadistes or Artoadistes (*i.e.* Artavasdes) from Armenia, he raised his own brother to the position of King of the Medes.

Mar Apas Catina, who speaks of Mithridates as Arsakes, styled the Great, says he made war on Demetrius and his son Antigonus. Antigonus marched an army against Babylon, but was captured by Arsakes, and carried off to Parthia, and put in irons, whence he was called Siderites. His brother, Antiochus Sidetes, having heard of the march of Arsakes, occupied Syria, where he was also attacked by the Parthian king with 120,000 men, in the middle of winter in a defile. "Thereupon, Arsakes became master of the third part of the world," *i.e.* Asia. At this time Arsakes appointed his brother, Valarsakes (Vagharshag), as King of Armenia, giving him the North and West for his kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

Mithridates, according to this writer, proceeded to organize the country, and put dynasts of high rank in various parts of it. He finished the war with the Macedonians, and set free their prisoners. He then specially rewarded the Jew, Shampa Pakarad, a powerful and wise

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<sup>2</sup> M. Langlois connects this with the statement of Justin, that Mithridates appointed Bacasis as King of Media, and reminds us that Cedrenus calls a part of Upper Armenia, Media.

man, and conferred on him and his descendants the right of crowning the Armenian kings. The office was called that of Thakatir. He also gave his family the right to call themselves Pakraduni (*i.e.* Bagratids). Pakarad had submitted to Valarsakes before the Macedonian war, and was further created master of the Royal gate, and nominated prefect of a corner of the Empire where the Armenian language was spoken, and prince of 11,000 men in the West.

“Valarsakes, after the Macedonian war of his brother, and the conquest of Babylon and the eastern and western part of Assyria, raised in Azerbadagan (the Atropatene of the Classical writers) and Central Armenia an army of valiant warriors, and summoned Pakarad and his braves, with the youth of the coast, descendants of Kégham, of the Cananeans, of the Shara, the Kushar, and their neighbours of Sissag and Gatmos, *i.e.* half of the country, and marched into Central Armenia beyond the sources of the great marshes (Medz Amor) on the banks of the Araxes near the hill of Armavir, where he delayed a few days. He also got together the Chaldeans (*i.e.* the people so-called living in the province of Trebizond, who were probably of Kurdish origin). Meanwhile, the people of Lazia, Pontus, Phrygia, Majak (*i.e.* the capital of Cappadocia), and other provinces, unaware of the victories of Arsakes, remained faithful to the Macedonians. They now revolted together under a certain Morphilig, and prepared to fight Valarsakes near a rocky hill, afterwards called Colonia by Pompey. Morphilig is described as fighting like a hero in his panoply of iron, but he was killed, and his army routed, and the districts he had raised, submitted to Valarsakes. The latter now proceeded to organize his new dominions in the provinces

of Majak—Cappadocia, Pontus, and Colchis (Ekératzi). He drained the marshes, cut down forests, and transplanted vines and other plants from Armenia. He prepared a summer residence there, and a park where he could hunt. He summoned his people from the plains and from the slopes of Caucasus, and constrained them to give up their life of brigandage, to obey the law, and to pay tribute, and he gave them princes and a good organization. Having thus settled his Western dominions, he marched into the fertile district of Shara, called by the ancients Upper Pasene, and where there afterwards settled a colony of Bulgars, whence it was known as Vanant. Hence returning to Medzpin, *i.e.* Nisibin, his capital, he proceeded to reorganize the kingdom of Armenia, which, although directly subject to Valarsakes, seems to have been in effect a glorified satrapy, and subordinate to the great king of kings, his brother, Mithridates, of Parthia.

“Pakarad, in addition to the position of Thakatir, already named, was also made general of the cavalry, and was privileged to wear a tiara with three rows of pearls, but without gold or precious stones in it.

“Tzeres, of the ancient race of Cananeans, was given charge of the royal ornaments. His own bodyguards he drew from the race of Khor, and gave them as chief one named Malkuz. Others whose names and families are specially recounted were respectively made master of the royal hunt, head of the state granaries, major-domo and chamberlain, and were severally endowed with villages, and their holdings were called satrapies. Others, again, were appointed to carry the eagles before Valarsakes, to preside over the sacrifices, the falcons, the summer palaces, the making of Royal sherbets or iced drinks for the Royal

household, etc. These officers and their families were duly ennobled. Valarsakes divided the Royal door-keepers into four bodies, commanded by men of the highest lineage; at first these offices were actually filled by the descendants of the ancient Royal race of Armenia. Valarsakes also made eunuchs of certain of the descendants of the same Royal stock, and put them under Haii (meaning chief of the eunuchs), prince of the country reaching from Azerbadagan to Juash, a canton of Vasburagan on the Araxes and Nakhchivan.

"The second dignity in the kingdom was given to the descendants of Astyages, King of the Medes, while dependencies and appanages were conferred on many others of high lineage, who are duly recorded. Having made all these arrangements, Valarsakes built a temple at Armavir, where he put the statues of the Sun (Arekagen, *i.e.* the eye of Arek, the visible sun, which the Zendavesta calls the eye of Ormuzd), of the Moon (Lusin, the female sexual fire, called by Moses of Chorene the fire-sister), and of his ancestors. He built many large towns, and arranged the procedure of the court with great order, fixing the proper times for audiences, councils, and amusements. He arranged the militia in several ranks, or classes, appointed two officials, one to remind the king of the good deeds he ought to do, and to tell him, when in a rage, of the claims of justice and philanthropy, and the other of the punishments he ought to inflict. He also appointed special justices in the towns, and gave the burghers a higher position than the country peasants.

"Having several sons, he did not think it prudent that they should live at Nisibin, but sent them to live in the district of Hashdiank, and in the frontier valley beyond

Daron, where he endowed them with several villages, and gave them pensions. Meanwhile, he kept by him his eldest son, called Arsakes (Arshag), in order to secure him the throne, and his grandson, Ardashes, a most promising boy, whom he tenderly loved. Having done all these things, and thus organized his kingdom, he died at Nisibin, after reigning twenty-two years" (*i.e.* from 149–127 B.C.) "His son Arsakes reigned for thirteen years. He followed in the footsteps of his father, and introduced many wise regulations, made war on the people of Pontus, and left a monument of his prowess on the borders of the sea. In his reign there was much strife and confusion in the passes of the Caucasus, and in the country of the Bulgars, and many people migrated into the plains of Armenia. The sons of Pakarad were put to death by Arsakes, because they would not abandon their Jewish faith, and adopt that of their master. Some of them saved their lives by consenting to hunt on Sunday and to desist from circumcision, and it was made unlawful for any woman to marry a circumcised person."

At this point terminates the extract from Mar Apas Catina, which we owe to Moses of Chorene (see Langlois, *Collection des historiens*, i. 13–52).

Moses of Chorene adds to these statements a list of the territories made over to his brother Valarsakes by Mithridates—*i.e.* a part of Western Syria, Palestine, Asia, Thedalia, the Sea of Pontus as far as the Caucasus, Azerbadagan and another country equally big? (*Ibid.*, ii. 61 and 62).

On the death of Arsakes, the son of Valarsakes, he was succeeded by his son Ardashes, called Artaxes, by the Greeks, who reigned, according to Langlois, from 114–109 B.C. Moses of Chorene says he mounted the

throne in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Arshaghan, King of the Persians, *i.e.* of the Parthians, and that, not being willing to play a second part, Arshaghan ceded him the supreme sovereignty, which means that he became independent. He was proud and bellicose. He built himself a palace in Persia (*i.e.* Parthia), and struck money with his own effigy upon it. He made Arshaghan his dependent, and declared his own son Tigranes King of Armenia, and gave his daughter Ardashama in marriage to Mithridates, grand pteshkh of Iberia (Virk), *i.e.* to Mithridates the Great, and confided to him the government of the mountains of the North and the Pontic Sea (*Ibid.*, 86).

I do not propose to carry this story further. I have given it in some detail because, in the first place, it has not previously, I believe, been told in detail in English; and, secondly, to show what a powerful community that ruled over by the Arsacidae of Armenia was. What I wish to call attention to especially is, that while it seems almost impossible to assign the beardless coins hitherto classed as the earliest coins of the Parthian Arsacidae, to that dynasty, it may be quite possible to assign them to the subordinate dynasty of the Armenian Arsacidae.

The Parthian Arsacidae were, as we have said, a bearded royal race. The Seleucidan kings, on the other hand, were a closely shaven race. So much so, that one of them, as we have seen, was specially styled Pogon because he was bearded, and both he and another bearded king of the dynasty have been conjectured to have adopted their beards after having been prisoners among the Parthians, or as copying them.

Of the Armenian Arsacidae there have hitherto only been definitely identified, the well-known coins of

Tigranes already named, who is classed rather curiously among the Seleucidan kings by almost all writers on coins. With them he has little in common except that he defeated them and seized their country, remaining meanwhile what he had always been, namely, King of Armenia. His coins ought clearly to be classed among the coins of Armenia.

Now, it is quite certain that Tigranes is represented on his many coins as beardless and clean-shaven, and in this respect he follows the fashion of the Greeks, and not of the Parthians. This makes it very probable, indeed, that his forefathers, like himself, were a clean-shaven race. This is another reason for attributing the beardless Arsacidan coins to the Arsacidae of Armenia, rather than to the Arsacidae of Parthia, as has been done by, I believe, every writer.

It may well be, however, that while the heads on these coins represent the Arsacidan Kings of Armenia, the inscriptions have reference to those kings of kings who stood over them as suzerains, namely, the Arsacidan rulers of Parthia, and were really issued in Armenia as the Satrapal coins of the great king were issued elsewhere.

The reverses of the series of beardless coins which represent Apollo on the omphalos in an Eastern guise (and perhaps represent the king deified, and in the guise of Mithras), are crude echoes and copies of those on the Parthian coins proper.

May I add that the coins which in general appearance and fabric most resemble these beardless Arsacidan coins are a series of which Babelon has given a short account and some figures, *vide Catalogue des Monnaies des Rois de Syrie*, xcvi. cc. I am indebted to Dr. Dressel of Berlin for casts of these three coins (see Pl. X., Figs. 12,



13, 14). These latter coins were apparently issued in Armenia before its conquest by Mithridates of Parthia, and it would be most natural that a coinage of a type familiar to the natives should be introduced by the intruding conquerors.

These conclusions about the beardless coins of the Arsacidae are largely tentative, but they seem to me to solve some difficulties. I hope to return to the subject, and especially to consider some puzzles which still seem unsolved in the Parthian series proper, on which the king is represented bearded.

It seems to me that the Parthian series of coins has been antedated by previous writers. The Parthians themselves were largely, if not altogether, nomades. They had no coins of their own in early times, nor was a coinage known among them, so far as we know. Their country was very different to Bactria further east, where there was a large Greek colony and garrison, accustomed to coins, to whom, in fact, a coinage was a necessity, and for whom, therefore, it is almost certain that Seleucus Nicator and his son and grandson had a special issue of coins. I have, in fact, considerable doubts whether any of the Parthian kings before Mithridates struck coins at all, for until his reign their dominion was limited to Parthia, Hyrcania, and a small corner of Media, far away from that part of the dominions of the Seleucidae where Greek culture existed, in a country where, so far as we know, no coinage had been known, and from which these early coins do not, so far as we know, ever come. These coins, again, have Greek inscriptions on them, and a Greek god on the reverse. It seems to me impossible to attribute them to any of the earliest kings of Parthia, who were Iranians by race, as their names prove.

With Mithridates we enter upon an entirely new era. There are many reasons, therefore, for making Mithridates the originator of the Parthian coinage. When he came into immediate contact with the Greeks, and was in possession of provinces which were well accustomed to coinage and had been subject to the Seleucidae, and when he had conquered two provinces from Bactria, it was natural that he should introduce a coinage and put on it Greek letters and a Greek god. Before then his rude nomadic people had no need of, and no use for, coins.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

## XII.

### THE COINAGE OF HENRY IV.

(See Plates XI.-XIII.)

HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE (who had recently succeeded to the Dukedom of Lancaster) on September 30, 1399, assumed, with the general assent of the Lords and Commons of England, the Regal authority under the title of Henry IV upon the deposition of his cousin, Richard II, which he had successfully brought to pass. The late unfortunate king was promptly removed to a distant prison, from which he never emerged alive. Notwithstanding his unpopularity with a large portion of his subjects, he had, even after his fall, numerous faithful adherents in nearly every part of England and Wales, including, either openly or secretly, the greater portion of the bishops and clergy, while his recent marriage with Isabella of Valois secured to him any support that the Court of France could render. Henry was, therefore, scarcely seated upon the throne before plots began to be formed for restoring the deposed king. Within a few weeks the death of Richard in his prison was announced, and to prove its truth his body was brought to London and exposed publicly in St. Paul's. Many, however, refused to believe in his death, and for several years Henry was continually occupied in all parts of England and Wales, either in suppressing actual rebellions or

devising means to anticipate those of which he was warned, in favour of various personators of Richard II, who, it was alleged, had escaped, and was at large. These rebellions were the more formidable in most cases owing to the support and assistance they received from France and Scotland, both of which countries endeavoured to take any advantage that the unsettled state of England offered during the greater part of the reign of Henry IV. After about eight years of anxious and disturbed reign, Henry's health began to fail, and by August, 1409, it was so shattered that, believing his end to be near, he left the government of the country almost entirely in the hands of his council, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. Although his health subsequently improved, he appears to have taken little further part in public affairs during the remainder of his life.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that he appears to have found no time to give personal attention to the coinage in the earlier years of his reign, and that later he had little inclination to do so.

The Mint accounts that still exist of his reign show that only comparatively trifling amounts of either gold or silver bullion were brought to the Mint or coined. The little that *was* actually brought to be coined was all between his third and sixth year inclusive, and there is nothing recorded after until his fourteenth year. As is well known, the weight of the coins remained unaltered from the issue of groats by Edward III in 1351 until the thirteenth year of Henry IV (1411-12), viz. 120 grains for the noble, and 72 grains for the groat, with the smaller denominations in proportion. The various issues of

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<sup>1</sup> Wylie's "History of England under Henry IV.," vol. iii. pp. 231, 233.

Edward III subsequent to 1351 must have together been very large indeed, and they no doubt formed the great bulk of the currency of the country so long as the lawful weight of the coins remained the same. In the reign of Richard II, however, we have seen that there were from its commencement continual and increasing complaints of the scarcity of money, and that the excuse in answer to all petitions from the Commons on the subject was the difficulty the king had in procuring bullion for the purpose of coining money. Richard, notwithstanding this difficulty, managed at least in his earlier years to have coined a certain quantity of halfpennies and farthings which went some way towards satisfying the most urgent wants of the poorer people for a time at least. With the accession of Henry IV the same difficulty was being felt, and we find the Commons in 1402 petitioning the king "that he would be pleased to ordain some remedy for the great mischief amongst the poor people for the want of halfpennies and farthings of silver which were wont to be and still were the most profitable money to the said people, but were now so scarce because none were worked nor made at this time. Wherefore the people of divers places of great necessity used the money of foreign lands as halfpennies of Scotland and others called Galeyhalpenys, and in some parts halfpennies divided (to the great destruction and waste of the said money), and in some places tokens of lead, so that not only the destruction of the said money was inevitable, but also in process of time that of all other monies of silver, as groat, half-groat, and sterling, if remedy should not be applied to the case." The king returned a favourable answer to this petition, and the Parliament ordained "that the third part of all the money of silver, which shall be brought to the bullion,

shall be made in halfpence and farthings, and that of this third part the one half shall be made in halfpence and the other half in farthings." I have thought it worth making this interesting quotation from Ruding (vol. i. p. 250), as it incidentally gives a general idea of the state of the country as regards the currency at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV, and serves as an introduction to the consideration of what is known as his heavy coinage, if any of the small driblets which alone appear to have been struck previous to his thirteenth year can be called a coinage.

The following details from the Mint accounts are given by Ruding of the quantity of bullion brought to the Mint for coinage, together with the amounts recorded to have been coined (so far as any records remain) during the period within which all the heavy coins of Henry IV must have been struck :—

AMOUNTS OF BULLION BROUGHT TO THE LONDON MINT TO BE COINED.

			Silver			Gold		
			£	s	d		£	s d.
3rd year	..	..	129	2	11½	..	298	12 10
4th year	..	..	145	19	5	...	153	13 6
4th and 5th years	...	.	361	9	9½	...	313	16 10½
6th year	..	...	-	-	-	...	277	7 5

AMOUNTS OF BULLION RECORDED TO HAVE BEEN COINED.

			Silver			Gold.		
			£	s	d		£	s d.
3rd year	...	..	129	2	11½	..	298	12 10
4th year	.	...	185	5	7½	..	97	13 3

It will be remarked that there is no record of any bullion being brought to the Mint after the sixth year, and of nothing actually coined later than the fourth year. Some of the accounts, however, are no doubt wanting, particularly those relating to the money coined, as it

may be presumed at least that as much bullion was coined as was brought to the Mint for the purpose. On the other hand, the extreme rarity of all heavy coins of Henry IV (halfpennies being perhaps to some extent excepted) makes it appear probable that this may have been about the limit. Although the apparently insuperable difficulty of procuring bullion for the purpose prevented the coining of more than a few very small quantities of money at this period, there must still have been a large quantity of the money of previous reigns in circulation, as the king was always able (although usually with considerable difficulty) to raise money for the payment of the troops employed in quelling the numerous rebellions of the time, and in resisting the various attempted foreign invasions.<sup>2</sup> He was also, in 1402, able to provide £2000 for the expenses of the retinue of his daughter, the Princess Blanche, when she left for Cologne to be married to Prince Louis, eldest son of the Emperor Rupert, and her treasurer, John Chandeler, carried with him 16,000 nobles in cash as the first instalment of her dower. Large sums are also recorded to have been raised in connection with the king's marriage early in the following year to Johanna of Navarre, showing that there was still much money in the country, although it could not have been of very recent date. It is also fairly certain, from the numerous complaints recorded, that the nobles of Burgundy, which were exactly of the English type, had for some time been largely imported, and formed a considerable proportion of the gold coin in circulation. In September, 1877,

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<sup>2</sup> "History of England under Henry IV," by J. H. Wylie, vol. i. p. 254.

there was found on Bremeridge farm, in the parish of Westbury, Wilts, a hoard of 32 gold nobles of the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, but which included also four of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (*Archæologia*, vol. xlvii. p. 136). This very possibly shows incidentally something of the proportion these foreign nobles formed of the English gold currency of this period, and assists us to an explanation of how it was that the supply of gold coins indispensably necessary to the country was to some extent maintained, notwithstanding the inability of the king and the Mint authorities to obtain any appreciable amount of bullion for coining English money during the great part of the reigns of both Richard II and Henry IV.

In addition to the foregoing reasons to account for the very few coins that remain of the heavy coinage of this reign, it may be safely assumed that what little money of heavy weight was actually coined would, as being newer and less worn, find its way to the melting pot on the introduction of the light coinage sooner than money that had been long in circulation, and that had consequently lost appreciably in weight.

As is usually the case at this period, and as the Mint accounts also testify in regard to this reign, a considerably larger amount of gold than of silver was coined, and as a natural consequence a larger number of heavy nobles (nobles being always more numerous struck than halves and quarters) are known than of any other heavy coins of either gold or silver, halfpennies alone excepted. Even the nobles are, however, extremely rare, and probably not more than about eight are known to exist. Two are in the collection of Sir John Evans, two in that of Mr. Rashleigh, while in the National Collection there are three, and another passed through the Montagu,



Durlacher, and Murdoch collections. Two out of the number are Calais nobles, and have the flag at the stern of the ship. It is remarkable that of the few known specimens, all that I have seen are varieties, and apparently from different issues. Five, including two in the British Museum, two of Mr. Rashleigh's and one of Sir John Evans', have the arms of France "ancient" or semé de lis, indicative of their having been struck early in this reign. The two Calais nobles have each the latter characteristics. Henry, Prince of Wales, used the French arms with three lis only on his shield in the sixth year of his father's reign, and it may be presumed that he only followed his example, in which case we may assume that the nobles having the arms of France "ancient" were struck previous to Henry's sixth year. Perhaps the most remarkable heavy noble is that in the National Collection of the Calais Mint (Pl. XI. 2). It may be described—

*Obv.*—HENRICVS DI' GRACIA REX ANGL' S' FRANC' DNS' hIB' S' AQT. King in ship with flag at stern; French arms on shield semé de lis; three ropes from stern and one from prow; no mast; small open crown of three fleurs de lis placed perpendicularly between stern of ship and inner beaded circle of legend.

*Rev.*—✠ IHCV AVTAM TRANSIENS PAR MEDIV' ILLO-  
RVM IBAT Usual cross flory as on nobles of Richard II, but with h in centre.

This coin came from the Shepherd Collection, and later was in that of the late Mr. Montagu. The crown at the stern of the ship is undoubtedly the mint-mark, and, curiously, the only known heavy half-noble, also of Calais, has the same mint-mark, but in the more usual position, at the commencement of the legend on the

reverse, while in the National Collection there is a specimen of the quarter-noble with a similar mint-mark, which was strangely ascribed by Kenyon to the light coinage of Henry VI, notwithstanding the arrangement of the fleurs de lis in the French arms, which, although only three in number, have one placed above and two below, as is frequently found on coins of Edward III and Richard II, where France "ancient" was, of course, intended. The Calais noble in the collection of Sir John Evans (Pl. XI 5) is apparently the only other known besides the Museum coin. It has also the crown mint-mark, but on the rudder *horizontally*. The ship's mast is not wanting, as on the Museum example, and it is interesting to note that the French arms are shown exactly as on the quarter-noble just alluded to. This coin, although in fine condition, has been so clipped that it only now weighs  $103\frac{1}{2}$  grains; but its type shows it to be unquestionably of the heavy coinage. Of the Tower nobles the first to claim attention (Pl. XI. 1) is one which practically resembles in all respects that first described, save that it has neither the flag nor the crown mint-mark, but it has as a conspicuous distinguishing mark on the ship's rudder a crescent, which it may be noted in passing is a mark also found over the shield on a heavy quarter-noble. Here we are able to identify a badge for which there is historical evidence of its use by Henry IV in 1400. Holinshed says, "King Henry IV, having notice of the conspiracy of the Earl of Kent, retired from Windsor Castle, upon which the Earl went to Sunnings and declared that Henry of Lancaster was fled, and that King Richard was at Pomfret with a hundred thousand men. To cause his speech the better to be believed, he took awaie the king's cognizances from them that wore

the same as the Collars (of S S) from their necks and the badges of *cressents* from the sleeves of the servants of the household, and throwing them awaie, said that such cognizances were no longer to be borne” The crescent is not usually included amongst the badges used by Henry IV, and I therefore think it both interesting and important, especially in regard to what I shall have to say later on, to have such definite evidence on the point. The incident referred to by Holinshed occurred in 1400, and I think we may probably assume that the badge in question was one used early in Henry’s reign, and perhaps discontinued later, seeing that it is so little referred to. The noble in question has the French arms *semé de lis*, but there is another in existence having a crescent on the ship’s rudder which has only three *lis*. This latter coin was in the cabinet of the late Mr. ~~Montagu~~, and has since passed through the Durlacher and Murdoch collections. The feature of the change in the French arms need not, however, be later, if as late, as Henry’s sixth year.<sup>3</sup> The last typical heavy noble to which I shall allude (Pl. XI. 7) is in Sir John Evans’s collection, and is, I believe, of a later date than those to which I have previously referred. There are only three *lis* in the French arms. The king’s figure is larger and bolder, and has a more graceful pose than on the previously described coins. The lettering of the legend is also larger and more carefully executed, and altogether

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<sup>3</sup> A heavy noble, from the Pembroke Collection in the British Museum, resembles closely in character the second of those previously described, but the ship’s rudder being imperfectly struck, it is impossible to see if the crescent is there. The French arms in the first quarter have three *lis*, one above and two below, and in the fourth quarter three only arranged in the usual way. The first quartering shows, however, that France “ancient” was intended.

it is a handsome coin. There is no other special feature or mark to notice on the obverse, but on the reverse there is a small cross pattée, or possibly quatrefoil, over the tail of the lion in the second quarter, the only instance that I have noticed of a special mark on the reverse of a heavy noble. This coin weighs  $118\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Before leaving the heavy nobles, I must mention one at present in the hands of Messrs. Spink and Son. It weighs 118.5 grains, and thus *should* be a heavy noble, but in all other details and characteristics it exactly resembles the nobles of the light coinage, which I shall deal with later on. This coin is, I understand, from a recent find in Poland, which, in addition to several light nobles of Henry IV, comprised nobles of Edward III, Richard II, and also of Henry V and VI. I shall again allude to this piece in connection with the light coinage.

Of heavy half-nobles Kenyon remarks, "We know of no specimens." One, however, *does* exist, and was formerly in the collection of the late Rev. E. J. Shepherd, after which it passed through those of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Murdoch, and is now in that of Sir John Evans (Pl. XI. 3). It is a very interesting and remarkable coin, and may be described as follows:—

*Obv.*—HENRIC' DI' G' REX ANGL' & FRAN' D' h' & KQ King in ship with flag at stern, French arms semé de lis.

*Rev.*—Mint-mark, open crown. DOMINA & NA & IN & FVROR & TVO & ARGVRS & M. Usual floriated cross with h in centre.

Wt.  $58\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

Like the noble I first described, this coin is of the Calais Mint, and the crown mint-mark identifies it as

being of the same issue. So far this coin is unique, and a heavy half-noble of the London Mint has still to be discovered.

Of heavy quarter-nobles the number of known specimens is exceedingly limited. I have, however, been able to trace six specimens, amongst which are at least three varieties. The first to note is one formerly in the Montagu collection (see **Pl. XI. 4**), having the French arms semé de lis, and reading—

*Obv.*—✠ HENRIQVS DI GRAT ANGL' S FRAN. Crescent over shield.

*Rev.*—✠ EXALTABITVR IN GLORIA. Usual floriated cross with pellet in centre.

Wt. 29½ grs.<sup>4</sup>

I myself have a specimen with the crescent over the shield, but with only three lis in the French arms, and reading on obverse, ✠ HENRIQ DI GRAT REX ANGL FR. These two quarter-nobles appear to correspond with the two varieties of nobles with the crescent on the ship's rudder. Another variety of equal interest, as connecting it with both the noble and half-noble of Calais, is the quarter-noble in the National Collection (see **Pl. XI. 6**), erroneously given by Kenyon to Henry VI after his restoration. It reads on the obverse ✠ HENRIQ DI GRAT REX ANGL S FRAN. There is nothing over the shield, and there is no other special mark. The reverse has the usual inscription with the open crown mint-mark placed as on the half-noble, and there is a pellet in the centre of the floriated cross. It may here be remarked that the open crown used as a mint-mark on the noble, half-noble,

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Evans has a specimen in all respects similar, and weighing 30 grains.

and quarter-noble is perfectly identical in size and form, and I believe that the same punch may have been used in each case. Another point of interest is that this is so far the only quarter-noble of any reign that can with any certainty be identified with the Calais Mint. I have in my own cabinet another specimen of this coin, but, unfortunately, the crown mint-mark is almost obliterated by a small fracture of the edge. My coin weighs  $27\frac{1}{2}$  grains, but has suffered a little from wear. The Museum coin only weighs 25 grains, but it is a good deal worn. Its deficient weight evidently had much to do with its misappropriation by Kenyon. The only other heavy quarter-noble that I can trace is in the collection of Mr. Rashleigh, and weighs 30 grains, but not having seen it, I am unable to say whether it differs from any of the examples I have described.

If the examples of heavy gold coins of Henry IV are, as we have seen, very rare, those of silver are mostly rarer still. Up to the present time I believe that no genuine heavy groat is known bearing the name of Henry, although an obviously altered groat of an early issue of Edward III, which was first illustrated in the plates of Withy and Ryall as far back as 1756, still exists. It has been successively illustrated or described by Snelling, Folkes, Ruding, and Hawkins. I have seen the coin, which is now in the possession of Captain Douglas. It has appeared at several sales, including those of Willett (1827) and Martin (1859), but was in both cases recognized as a forgery.<sup>5</sup> As groats, like

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<sup>5</sup> In *Num Chron*, vol. viii 125, Mr. Christmas refers in a note to a groat in his collection which he attributes to the heavy coinage of Henry IV, and of which he gives the weight as 60 grains, although clipped. In his sale catalogue, although a Henry IV groat of this

nobles, were usually the most numerous coins struck of any mediaeval issues, owing to the fact of their coinage being more profitable to the Mint authorities than the smaller denominations, it is difficult to understand, how it is, that apparently no heavy groat of Henry IV should have come down to us, seeing that, although of the highest rarity, there *are* examples known of both the heavy half-groat and penny of the London Mint, which, in the ordinary course, should be considerably more rare than groats. My own opinion, however, is that, although very rare, as is naturally to be expected, we actually have heavy groats of the earlier part of Henry IV's reign, although they have hitherto been undetected for the same reason and in the same manner as was for so long the case with the coins of Richard I and John. I will now give my reasons for this opinion. In writing of the coins of Richard II, I spoke of certain rare groats and pennies which I attributed to a very small issue of silver recorded in the Mint accounts for the year 1396-97, amounting only to £149 7s. 9d., and I remarked upon the small likelihood of any appreciable quantity of this issue having survived, although there are a very few groats known bearing the name of Richard which, from their strong affinity in character to the light groats of Henry IV, could only belong to a late issue of his predecessor. It will be seen in reference to the Mint accounts, which I have quoted from Ruding, that up to the fifth year of Henry IV, £636 12s. 1½d. in silver is recorded to have been coined, or more than four times the amount of the issue of Richard II in 1396-97, and

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weight is described, there is nothing said to suggest that it is a heavy groat, and it only realized a very small sum. I think, therefore, that no special importance need be attached to it.

I feel strongly of opinion that the latest dies of Richard were used for his successor. They would have had little previous wear, and the Mint authorities possibly thought it unnecessary to make fresh ones, or even perhaps had not the time if, as seems probable, the money was wanted hurriedly to satisfy some of the many urgent requests to the king recorded in the history of this period for money wherewith to pay the soldiers quartered in various parts of the kingdom in order to prevent their desertion. I am even prepared to go farther still, and suggest that, in addition to the old dies of Richard II being used, others were made on which his name was still retained, probably owing to the mechanical or careless work of the engraver, or possibly by intention on his part. The groat bearing the name of Richard II which I described (see **Pl. XII. 6**), and which is illustrated in my paper on his coinage, is, I consider, a strong proof of my theory. I have already suggested that we have in this coin a heavy groat of the reign of Henry IV, and I myself feel practically certain on the point. The crescent on the breast at once connects it with the heavy gold coins with that distinguishing mark, and, as we have seen, this was unquestionably one of the badges used by Henry IV early in his reign. There is no record of its use by Richard II, and had it been used we may be certain that Henry would never have continued it. This groat has a decidedly earlier type of portrait than some of the others bearing the name of Richard, which so much approach in character to the light groats of Henry IV, and I believe it to have been struck from dies made early in the reign of the latter. I will not describe it again here, but will do so in the list at the end of the paper. In the Lawrence collection (Lot 299 in sale Catalogue) was a groat which in character



of bust, etc., much resembles the one of which I have been speaking. By weight it is a light groat, but it is evidently struck from an altered die which had been made for a heavy groat bearing the name of Richard.<sup>6</sup> This has been changed to HENRIQ, without entirely obliterating all traces of RICHARD, and the usual accessories of the light groats have been punched into the die. I consider this coin another strong proof of the heavy groats of Henry IV having been struck from dies with the name of Richard, but probably made after the death of the latter. A die actually made in the reign of Richard II could hardly have lasted in a good state until the 13th year of Henry IV. In advancing this theory, I am not unmindful of the fact that the difficulty<sup>7</sup> has been tentatively accounted for in another manner,<sup>8</sup> but I will deal with this later on, when I think I can prove the position taken to be historically untenable. My arguments, based on the two groats last referred to, almost carry me further than I had anticipated, and I feel it difficult not to assign entirely to Henry IV all those rare groats which, while bearing the name of Richard, so strongly approximate in general character and details to the light groats of Henry IV; and I am almost forced to the conclusion that perhaps, after all, the groats with the portrait, which Hawkins describes as the "intermediate" ones in the reign of Richard II, are really the latest struck during his reign.

In regard to heavy half-groats, the same difficulty does not exist. No half-groats of Richard II are, I believe,

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<sup>6</sup> This coin is illustrated on pl. v. No. 2 of the present volume of the *Num. Chron.*

<sup>7</sup> As to the apparent absence of groats and the great rarity of all other denominations of the heavy coinage.

<sup>8</sup> By Mr. L. A. Lawrence in this volume of *Num. Chron.*

known which in any way correspond with the late groats about which I have been speaking. All that I have seen have the mark of contraction over the final N in LONDON, which is found on none of the later groats bearing the name of Richard, and it would thus appear that few, if any, half-groats were struck after the earlier part of Richard's reign.<sup>9</sup> There would probably, therefore, have been no dies available for striking these coins after the accession of Henry IV, and evidently fresh ones were made, although two coins alone now remain to testify to the fact. I think, however, that they afford confirmatory evidence as to the correctness of my theory about the groats. The best known of these half-groats is that figured in Hawkins, 323 (see Pl. XII 8), which has passed through the Willett, Martin, E. J. Shepherd, Montagu, and Murdoch collections, and is now in my own. It weighs 33 grains, and reads on the obverse ✠ HÆNRIC·DI·GRAN·RÆX·ANGL·Σ·F. The bust is of very similar character to the two groats that I first described, and is more nearly like some on the half-groats of Richard II than that on the light groats of Henry IV. A feature of special interest, but not noticed by Hawkins, is a star with long pointed rays on the point of the tressure or the breast. Although not quite so distinct as it might be, it is unquestionably there, and helps us materially in regard to the correct attribution of heavy London pence. I have been unable to see the other specimen, which is in Mr. Rashleigh's collection, and which weighs 35½ grains.

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<sup>9</sup> Since writing, I have discovered a half-groat bearing the name of Richard, which appears to be partially altered to HÆNRIC, and with different reading from any published half-groat of Richard II. The portrait resembles the Henry IV half-groat (Hawkins, 323). This coin, which I hope shortly to publish, tends to prove that even heavy half-groats were struck bearing the name of Richard.

The reverse of my coin affords a remarkable connecting link with the first groat described in having, like that coin, the unbarred N's in London, a most exceptional feature after some of the early groats and half-groats of Edward III. It appears strange at first sight that the groats should continue to bear the name of Richard, while the half-groats have that of Henry, but I think it may be accounted for by the fact that the engraver probably copied mechanically the legend on a recent die for the larger coins, while on that for the half-groat, having no recent model to go by, he exercised more thought. Possibly, also, the dies for the smaller coins were made by another and more careful hand. We have similar examples in the early coins of Edward VI, numbers of which are now proved to bear his father's name and even portrait, although a few of apparently the same period have his own name and portrait.

The heavy pennies of the London mint are almost as rare as the half-groats, and I can only trace three specimens. The first in order is that described by Mr. Neck in *Num. Chron.*, New. Ser. vol. xi. 108. It was from the Highbury find, and reads  $\times$  HENRICVS DVS GRAVIA REGIS ANGLIE. There is a star with long pointed rays on the breast which connects it with the heavy half-groat, and the n's in London are of Lombardic character. The weight is given as  $17\frac{3}{4}$  grains. I am unable to say where this coin now is. Another specimen, weighing  $16\frac{1}{2}$  grains, is described in the Whitbourn Sale Catalogue (Lot 181), and is the coin now in Mr. Rashleigh's collection. The third specimen is now in my own collection, and is the only specimen I have actually seen. It was formerly in that of Mr. Neck's, and was also from the Highbury find. It has since passed through the Webb (Lot 133) and

Murdoch (Lot 318) collections and sales (see **Pl. XII. 7**). It weighs only 14 grains, but is clipped to almost the middle of the lettering. It is, however, identical in every respect with the penny first described, including the star on the breast, and there can be no doubt of its being a heavy penny, although Mr. Neck curiously put it with the light pence owing to its weight. On the reverse, a feature previously unnoticed, is an extra pellet in the first and third quarters. The bust on this coin has a small head with long thin neck and bushy hair standing well away from the head, and it strongly resembles that on the half-groat. Before leaving the pennies I would call attention to the strong resemblance to the penny (in Brit. Mus.) bearing the name of Richard shown on **Pl. XIX. vol. iv., *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV.**, in connection with my paper on the Coinage of Richard II. This coin is extremely rare, and I am inclined to think that it also was struck during the early part of the reign of Henry IV. On a similar specimen in my own collection I believe the star on the breast is to be detected, but it is, unfortunately, too faintly struck to be *quite* certain on the point. Were it otherwise the attribution to Henry IV would be almost certainly correct.

Heavy pennies of the York Archiepiscopal mint were known before any of London had been discovered, and are considerably more numerous, although still very rare. Specimens are known weighing fully 18 grains, but although in mint state are usually so badly struck as to be very imperfectly legible, while they are also mostly in very poor condition. The dies, however, appear to have been well engraved, and the coins differ in this respect entirely from the later York pennies of Richard II. The heavy York pennies all have the French title, usually

of exceptional length, as  $\text{FRAN}\alpha$ , or even  $\text{FRAN}\alpha\text{I}\alpha$ . The bust resembles that on the London pennies in having the neck thin and rather long, but the head is larger and is more like that on the earlier coins of Richard II, or even of Edward III.

Halfpennies, which are all of the London Mint, are less rare than any other denomination, either in gold or silver, of the heavy coinage of Henry IV, although even these are of considerable rarity. They were probably coined in some quantity in consequence of the petition of the Commons in 1402 for the relief of the poorer people, which I have already quoted, and would possibly not now be so rare as they actually are had their weight been more accurately adjusted. It is, however, a curious fact that they are almost all in excess of their proper weight, often considerably so, specimens being known as heavy as  $11\frac{1}{2}$  grains. This caused them to be collected and melted down "by goldsmiths and others,"<sup>10</sup> as we find penalties enacted against such proceedings.

They vary considerably in character. The first variety to notice, which is perhaps the most numerous, has a rather large bust, with short neck and shoulders detached from the inner circle. They usually read  $\text{HENRI}\alpha$ , or rarely  $\text{HENRI}\alpha\text{VS} \cdot \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \text{ANGL}$ , or  $\text{ANGL}\alpha$ , while some read  $\text{ANGL} \cdot \text{F}$ . There are some rare halfpennies bearing the name of Richard which exactly resemble these Henry halfpennies, and which, I am of opinion, were in all probability coined during the reign of Henry IV. They also are usually of excessive weight (my specimen weighs  $11\frac{1}{2}$  grains, although worn), which is seldom the case with the ordinary Richard II halfpennies.

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<sup>10</sup> Wylie, vol. i. p. 299.

Another variety has an annulet at each side of the neck (see Pl. XII. 11), of which there was a specimen in the Montagu collection from the Highbury find. The bust is smaller than on the first type alluded to, and is also detached from the inner circle. A specimen in my own collection, from that of Mr. Longstaffe, is of different character from the other two (see Pl. XII. 10), the letters are unusually large and well formed, and the words are divided by double pellet stops instead of the usual saltires. The initial cross pattée is also unusually large. It weighs 9 grains, although somewhat worn.

A heavy farthing was unknown to Hawkins or to Mr. Neck, but what is described as one appears in the sale catalogue of the Montagu collection (Lot 486). As I have not seen the coin and cannot trace it, I will quote the catalogue description, which, I believe, is practically that of Mr. Montagu himself.

*Obv.*—+ HENRIC REX ANGLI. Head crowned, facing ;  
mint-mark cross.

*Rev.*—QVITVS LONDON. Cross with pellets.

Wt.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  grs. From the Churchill Babington  
Collection.

Apart from the weight, which may possibly be due to accident, the obverse legend would rather suggest its being a farthing of Henry VI. We may, however, safely infer from the answer to the Commons' petition in 1402 that farthings were coined to some extent, and perhaps this is one of them. I have myself a curious farthing, reading † RICHARD : REX : ANGLIA, weighing 7 grains, which, owing to its excessive weight and unusual character, resembling somewhat the halfpenny with double pellet stops, I should be inclined to think may be of the reign

of Henry IV, but in the case of farthings there is less to help to a definite conclusion than with larger coins.

I have now exhausted so far as I am able the subject of the heavy coinage, and I trust it may not be without useful results. Personally, I feel quite convinced that most, if not all, of the coins of the peculiar type that I have described bearing the name of Richard are actually to be attributed to the reign of Henry IV, and I hope that the reasons I have given may commend themselves to acceptance by the Society. If I shall have been the means of discovering the heavy groat of Henry IV, I shall feel that I have accomplished something of value to the cause of numismatic science, and assisted in filling up the now very few remaining blanks in the sequence of the mediæval series of English coins. I may here add that I consider it highly probable that some of the late nobles bearing the name of Richard also belong to Henry IV, but in their case the reasons are not quite so strong, for although in the 19th and 20th year of Richard II the amount of silver recorded to have been coined amounted to only £149 7s 9d., the amount of gold coined during the same year was £536 13s. 3d., making it much more probable that we have gold coins of this issue remaining than silver.

### THE NEW OR LIGHT COINAGE

The early chroniclers, including Grafton, Holinshed, and Stow, all record as a remarkable event that in the thirteenth year of his reign Henry IV reduced the weight of the coins of both gold and silver, and subsequent writers have all accepted and quoted the statement as

not being one about which any question ever had been or could be raised. Recently, however, a suggestion has been made that the reduction in weight must have taken place at a considerably earlier date than the hitherto accepted one. I therefore think it desirable to give somewhat fully the reasons which, to me, appear conclusive as to the fallacy of this theory.

In the *History of England under Henry IV*, by James Hamilton Wylie, vol. iv. p. 43, we read, under the date 1411, "In spite of stringent prohibitions, large numbers of English gold nobles had found their way to Denmark and other countries through the operations of the Hansers; and inasmuch as France, Flanders, Scotland, Denmark, Germany, and the Teutonic Order had all recently debased their coinage, the Council now resolved to try the effect of a similar policy in England, according to the current maxim, 'Money changeth oft in price, after that the Prince will ordain.'" Holinshed's *Chronicle*, under heading An. Dom. 1412, An. Reg. 13, states, "This yeaere the king abased the coines of his gold and silver, causing the same to be currant in this realme at such value as the others was valued before, where indeed the noble was woorsse by four pence than the former, and so likewise of the silver coines whereof he appointed to be currant after the same rate." Grafton makes the same statement in almost the same words, but under the year 1411. The difference in the year is accounted for by the fact that the Parliament, in which the statute was passed putting into force the decision of the Council, assembled at Westminster on November 3, and terminated its sittings on December 19, 1411.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Wylie, vol. iv. p. 50.



The words of the statute are as follows: "Item, because of the great scarcity of money at this time within the realm of England, and because of other mischiefs and causes manifest, by the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the request of the Commons, it is ordained and assented, that the master of the Mint in the Tower of London shall make of every pound of gold, of the weight of the Tower, fifty nobles of gold, and of the same pound and weight of silver thirty shillings of sterlings; so that this gold and silver shall be of as good allay as the old money, as well within the town of Calais as in the tower of London. And in like manner shall be made all other kinds of money, which were wont to be made in ancient times by Royal authority and grant.

"The said ordnance to commence from Easter next coming, and to continue to the end of two years. Provided always, that if at the end of the said two years it appeareth that the said ordnance is contrary to the good and profit of the king and his realm, that then the said ordnance shall utterly cease. And that the king, by the advice of the council, will renew, reform, and amend the same, for the good and profit of himself and of his realm, as may be necessary in the case, this ordnance notwithstanding."<sup>12</sup>

This ordinance, therefore, although passed in 1411, did not actually come into force until Easter, 1412. Its effect was to reduce the weight of the noble to 108 grains from 120, and that of the groat from 72 grains to 60 grains, the smaller denominations of both metals following in proportion.

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<sup>12</sup> Ruding, vol. 1 pp. 254, 255.

The new coinage was taken in hand without delay.<sup>13</sup> On May 6, 1412 (Pat. 13 H. IV. 2, 27), Thomas Drayton was appointed Assayer of the Tower Mint, and on September 22 an order was issued requiring Henry Somer, as Warden of the Mint, to secure moneyers and die-engravers for the work. English silver was procured from the mines of Derbyshire, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, but the chief supply of the precious metals came from the Hansers, who imported gold and silver in bars, logs, and wedges from Hungary, Bohemia, and the Tyrol. The bullion was brought in plate or in bars to the King's Change in Lombard Street, to Serves Tower in Bucklersbury, or to the Old Change near St. Paul's, to be sold outright or coined into money, the King in either case taking a considerable royalty from the transaction.<sup>14</sup> Altogether, the business of the new coinage appears to have been so profitable that, owing to the reduction in weight of the coins, together with the seizing of forfeited money, etc., the king found himself in a very satisfactory financial position, notwithstanding that no tax (*i.e.* no tenths or fifteenths) was granted to him by the Parliament of 1411.<sup>15</sup> As we have seen in connection with the heavy coinage, no bullion is recorded in the Mint accounts given by Ruding to have been supplied to the London Mint after Henry's sixth year until his fourteenth year (when the statute of 1411 came into force). Then we find recorded the large amounts of £3612 5s. of silver and £7329 7s. of gold. When we consider that for this one year alone the quantity of bullion coined far exceeds that recorded for the whole reign of Richard II, together with the previous portion

<sup>13</sup> Wyhe, vol. iv. p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Ruding, vol. II. p. 255, quoting *Parliamentary History*, vol. II p. 122.

of that of Henry IV, we can understand that the new coinage of 1412 was comparatively very considerable, and we find it somewhat difficult to account in a satisfactory manner for the great rarity of almost all the coins hitherto attributed to it. I have, I venture to hope, been able to show satisfactorily that the historical evidence is conclusive as to the reduction in weight of the coins having taken place in 1412, and not before, and that it was due to the statute of the Parliament of 1411 (specially summoned for the purpose) coming into force after Easter, 1412.

As we have seen, there is evidence that the work was vigorously taken in hand in May, and although Henry only lived for about ten months after (*i.e.* till March 19, 1413), there can be little doubt but that, owing to the urgency and importance of the work, all the bullion delivered, and possibly more, was coined into money before his death, and I believe that we really have more light coins of Henry IV than used formerly to be supposed. Although I shall not be able to go quite as far as Mr. Lawrence, I shall, I think, be able to give reasons for accepting to some extent his conclusions, although on entirely different grounds from those on which he bases them. We have examples in the cases of both Henry VI during his short restoration, and of the still shorter reign of Edward V, of how comparatively large a coinage is possible in a much briefer period than that comprised between May, 1412, and the death of Henry IV. The light groats of Henry VI are far less rare than the groats of Henry IV of the recognized type with the Roman N in London, while those struck in the name of Edward V are hardly more rare than the latter, although probably all struck within a period of less than three months. It

may be admitted that several causes contributed to the disappearance of a large quantity of the coinage of 1412-13. Wylie says (vol. iv. p. 46) under 1412, "Still the intrinsic value of English coins was found to be too high when compared with that of foreign countries. The beautiful nobles and sterlings not only fell a prey to clippers and hurters, but they were melted down or taken out of the country in barrels to be replaced by lushburghs and galyhalfpennies, and Italian, Scotch, and Flemish counterfeits." Notwithstanding all this, however, I venture, in agreement with Mr. Lawrence (although on different grounds), to submit that it is not only possible but most probable that some at least of the coins which have been attributed to the earliest issues of Henry V are really part of the coinage of 1412-13. It is remarkable that amongst the rare silver coins of the light issue having the Roman N in London, there are so many varieties, and I think this suggests the probability of the dies being the work of a number of different engravers. If this be so, it is quite possible that the dies of the so-called transitional or early Henry V coins are merely the work of another set of engravers working at the same time, or shortly after, on the coinage in question. The light groats with the Roman N all strongly resemble, as regards the king's bust, the heavy groats bearing the name of Richard which I attribute to Henry IV,<sup>16</sup> and it may well be that they are quite the earliest struck of the light coins, while their special rarity may be accounted for by the probability of very few of this type having been struck. The die-engravers at first probably followed to a large extent

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<sup>16</sup> I except the groat with the crescent, which I consider the earliest.

the style and character of the last dies that had been in use, but as the work proceeded a new and more original type may have been thought desirable to distinguish the most important coinage since the reign of Edward III. The slipped trefoil is a well-known mark never wanting, in some position, on the Roman N groats and coins of other denominations corresponding with them above the value of halfpence, but there are two other marks, viz. the annulet and pellet, which in like manner are never wanting at the sides or over the crown on all silver coins except halfpence of the London Mint. These latter marks are also found on some coins of a distinctly different style, which I believe also belong to Henry IV. I also believe that the annulet and pellet are marks which are found on his coins only.

Having indicated the view which a careful study of the question has led me to take, I propose now to deal with the light coinage in detail, as I did with the heavy coinage; but as the silver coins appear to me to afford the real key to the correct classification of the light coinage, I will reverse the usual order and take them before the gold.

One of the earliest, as I believe, of the light groats is one that appears in the plates of Withy and Ryall (Pl. VIII. 3),—a source which, I am aware, has been discredited by some, including Mr. Neck, but time has shown that these earlier authorities were not so incorrect in regard to some of the coins they illustrated as has been supposed. I myself have a specimen of the groat in question (see Pl. XIII. 1), which differs in the reading from what Mr. Neck stated to be the invariable style for Henry IV. It may be described as follows:—

*Obv.*—✠ HÆNRIC' DEI ꝥ GRAT' REX ꝥ ANGL' ꝥ FRANC  
 Bust of the king, with indication of drapery;  
 slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to left, pellet  
 to right of crown; ten arches to the tressure

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ꝥ DEVM ꝥ ADIVTOREM ꝥ MAM ꝥ CIVITAS  
 LONDON. Usual cross and pellets.

Wt. 57½ grs.

This coin so very closely resembles one bearing the name of Richard in my collection that I consider it a valuable connecting link in support of my theory regarding the heavy groats. The portrait is almost identical, and there is an exact correspondence as to the crown and hair, the latter in both cases standing far away from the head. The indication of drapery on the bust is also practically the same, while the obverse reading of DEI and ANGL' (which is unlike that on any other light groats of Henry IV), completes the resemblance. The tressure of ten arches instead of the usual nine is a peculiarity found neither on the Richard groats nor on those (which I assume to be subsequent) of Henry with the Roman N. Another of the earliest light groats is that previously referred to as having been in the Lawrence Collection, from a die on which RICHARD has been altered to HÆNRIC. This groat reads ANGLIA only, and omits the French title.

A third variety which I should also place amongst the earliest of the light groats is one in the National Collection (see PL. XIII. 2). It very closely resembles the first coin described, and has most of the characteristics of the groats bearing the name of Richard. It omits, however, the French title, and reads, ✠ HÆNRIC' DEI ꝥ GRAT' REX ꝥ ANGLIA. It has the usual annulet and pellet at the sides of the crown, but the latter is on the left and the former on the right side. The reverse has

the Roman N in London. A similar coin was in the Montagu collection (Lot 487 in sale Catalogue), having been previously in those of Mr. Bergne and Mr. Brice. The more ordinary type of the groats with the Roman N has a very peculiar and unmistakable bust of the king, who has an expression strongly suggestive of a leer. The hair is thin, and stands well away from the head, which is generally slightly inclined to the right; an annulet and pellet are always at the sides or over the crown, and a slipped trefoil usually takes the place of the fleur on the point of the cusp of the tressure on the breast. There is also almost always a slipped trefoil in the obverse and reverse legends. These groats all read, *Obv.* ✠ HENRICVS DI GRACIA REX ANGLIE & FRANCIE, or in one instance FRANCOIE. The slipped trefoil in the obverse legend is usually after FRANCO (see Pl. XIII. 3), and on the reverse after POSVI. I have an example, however, where it is after CIVITAS instead. To follow what I believe to be the regular sequence (if, indeed, all are not contemporary or nearly so), we find a groat with an obverse exactly similar to the last, but on the reverse of which four new features are noticeable, viz. the initial cross pattée is thicker, and has a sunk circle in the centre,<sup>17</sup> there is a quatrefoil instead of the slipped trefoil after POSVI, and the legend reads ADIVTOR instead of REX, and the Lombardic R is used in London. A splendid specimen of this coin was in the Montagu collection (Lot 489 in sale Catalogue) and was previously in the Shepherd and Webb collections. There is one also in the National Collection (see Pl. XIII. 6), and I myself have another. This groat is probably a mule, but the

<sup>17</sup> This must not be mistaken for the pierced cross of later years, from which it entirely differs.

fact of three other examples at least being traceable suggests that different dies were in use to some considerable extent simultaneously. Proceeding a step further, we find certain very rare groats,<sup>18</sup> with a reverse identical with the last coin, and with an obverse corresponding to the reverse in all its characteristics, including the peculiar initial cross pattée with sunk circle in centre, the lettering, and a quatrefoil after HENRIC. The bust is equally peculiar in character with that on the Roman N groats, although quite of a different type. The face, crown, and hair are larger, and the neck and shoulders short and thick. The features are emaciated and very unpleasing. I must admit that the groats of this type omit the marks of the annulet and pellet at the sides of the crown, which at first sight appears to be a missing link, but this is supplied by finding them on a half-groat and penny of exactly similar character, to which allusion will be made later. A further variety of groat has the bust more like the ordinary Henry V type, but retains the initial cross pattée with sunk circle in some instances, while in other cases it becomes a plain cross, but still with the sunk circle, and not pierced. It may, perhaps, be well here to say that, in my opinion, the mullet was adopted as the distinguishing mark on all coins struck after the death of Henry IV, and that all those with either the mullet on the breast or at the side of the crown belong to Henry V. It is a mark that we find on all his coins up to almost, if not quite, the end of his reign, and I think it may practically be considered as his special badge for monetary purposes. It may at first

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<sup>18</sup> These groats have been alluded to in a paper by Mr. L. A. Lawrence in the present volume of the *Num. Chron.*, which, however, appeared after this paper was written.



sight be considered unsafe to take up this position, seeing that several coins on which the mullet is found are known of the unmistakable character associated with the undisputed coins of Henry IV. I venture, however, to suggest that there is a very easy and obvious explanation of this apparent difficulty. In the case of the groat from the Lawrence Collection (Lot 304 in sale Catalogue)—see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. IV. vol. v. Pl. V. 7—I should without hesitation say that it was struck from a die of Henry IV converted into one of his successor by the simple expedient of punching a mullet on the shoulder. In the same manner in the case of pennies there would be no difficulty in punching a mullet over the pellet at side of crown. I have two varieties of pennies upon which I believe it to be quite possible to trace this process, owing to want of exactness in its execution. Coins of this peculiar combination type are extremely rare, which I think is in my favour, as it would point to their being only hastily struck at quite the beginning of Henry V's reign; perhaps the dies were merely used to complete the coinage of the bullion then in hand, for, according to the Mint accounts (which may possibly be incomplete) given in Ruding, no bullion was brought to the Mint for coinage after the death of Henry IV until the fifth year of Henry V.

Light half-groats of Henry IV are, like those of the heavy coinage, excessively rare. When Mr. Neck wrote (in 1871) one only was known, and this had appeared for the first time at the sale of the Lindsay collection; afterwards it passed through the Robinson and Montagu collections, and is now in my own cabinet. This coin reads on the obverse ✠ HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE &c. The bust is not unlike that on the heavy half-groat, but

has a slipped trefoil on the breast, and a pellet at each side of the crown. *Rev.* † POSVI ⁊ DĒV ⁊ DIVT ⁊ ORÆM M—αΙΒΙΤΑΣ LONDON. A slipped trefoil upside down has been previously the name given to the object after ⁊ DIVT, but I am inclined to think that it is simply a saltire stop not quite perfectly struck. The n's in London, it will be noticed, are Lombardic, and the pellets are joined. Another very similar in the Lawrence collection (312 in Catalogue) reads ⁊ DIVTORÆM MĒV, and has a trefoil after London. A third specimen of the same type which was pierced came under my notice a short time since,<sup>19</sup> but so far these are, I believe, the only three known of this earliest variety of the light half-groat. A half-groat described by Mr. Neck (*Num. Chron.*, New Ser. vol. xi. Pl. III. 11) as of Henry V, which no doubt it is,<sup>20</sup> has the reverse from a die of a Henry IV half-groat with the Roman N in London. This is the only evidence, so far, of half-groats with the Roman N having been struck. Another variety of half-groat of Henry IV is that described in No. 491 of the Montagu Sale Catalogue. The obverse reads as the first half-groat described, but the bust is different, and more resembles the peculiar type of that on the groats with the Roman N to which I have alluded. It has the slipped trefoil on the breast and a pellet on each side of crown. The reverse legend has no initial cross, and reads ⁊ DIVTORÆ MÆ There is no mark after POSVI or elsewhere, and the lettering is more after the character of that on the variety of groats that I claim to belong to Henry IV, although hitherto they

<sup>19</sup> This coin is now in the possession of Mr. Lawrence, to whom I am indebted for the loan of it for the purpose of the list at the end of this paper.

<sup>20</sup> It has the *broken* annulet on obverse. The annulet on coins I attribute to Henry IV is complete.

have been usually given with more or less certainty to his successor. The coin in question is the only one of its type that I have seen. It was in the Webb (Lot 124), Montagu (Lot 491), and Murdoch (Lot 317) collections. It is now in my own. The last half-groat to describe is the one which I mentioned in connection with the groats. It has the different type of bust with emaciated features, but it has the thick cross pattée with sunk circle dividing the legend, and the annulet and pellet at either side of the crown. The inscriptions on both obverse and reverse are the same as on the previous coin. There is a saltire stop after POSVI, but no special mark there or elsewhere on the reverse. I have only seen one coin of this type. Another very similar half-groat in my collection may belong to Henry IV, but as it is entirely without any distinguishing mark (the initial cross being defaced) nothing definite can be made of it.

Light pennies, although all very rare, afford more varieties than half-groats. They were issued not only from the Tower Mint, but from the Episcopal Mints of Durham and York. To begin with those of London, the earliest variety, I believe, is one reading ✠ HENRICVS DI' GRA' REX ANGL, with a bust much resembling that of Edward III and Richard II. It has a trefoil on the breast and an annulet and pellet at the sides of the crown. The reverse has the Roman N in London. The obverse of this coin is practically identical with Hawkins No. 326, save for the mullet at one side of crown. I strongly suspect this latter coin to be from a Henry IV obverse die altered to one of Henry V by the punching of a mullet over the pellet in the manner I have previously suggested. In the description of this coin an annulet is stated to be on one side of the head, although the figure

in the plate shows a mullet on each side. The description is, no doubt, correct, as it agrees with that in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, where the same coin appears (Lot 493). The next coin to notice has a rather different type of bust, with the hair standing away from the head in an exaggerated degree, the neck appears slightly bent, and the head inclines slightly to the left, a peculiarity also noticeable on some of the groats and halfpence (see Pl. XIII. 8.) This coin reads ✠ HENRIC REX ANGLIA. The bust shows distinct indications of drapery. There is a trefoil on the breast, and an annulet to the left and a pellet to the right of the crown. The reverse has the Roman N in London, and a slipped trefoil before CIVITAS. I have another penny with the obverse apparently from the same die after the pellet to the right of the crown had been changed to a mullet (see Pl. XIII. 9). The reverse of this latter coin is from what I consider an early Henry V die, and it is in that case another example of the conversion of a Henry IV obverse die for use after the accession of Henry V. Mr. Neck was rather puzzled by a similar coin in the collection of the late Mr. Longstaffe (*Num. Chron.*, New Ser. vol. xi. p. 115), and while hesitating to give it to Henry IV, says that he is unable to assign it to Henry V. The condition of the coin he saw (and which I have seen) induced him to believe that the object on the breast was a quatrefoil, but on my specimen (which is identical with the Longstaffe coin) it is distinctly a trefoil. The two varieties of London pence described exhaust the list of those given by Hawkins and other authorities to Henry IV, but if my theory of attributing to him all coins with the annulet and pellet at the side of the crown be correct, I am able to give a third variety. A specimen of this coin from the Highbury find is in the

National Collection (see **Pl. XIII. 15**), and may be described as follows: Mint-mark cross pattée with circular sinking in centre.  $\text{h}\bar{\epsilon}\text{NRIQ}'\text{-DI}'\text{-GR}\bar{\Lambda}'\text{-R}\bar{\epsilon}\text{X}\text{-}\bar{\Lambda}\text{N}\bar{\epsilon}\text{L}$ . Short thick bust very much of the character of that of the groat described with similar mint-mark; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown. *Rev.*  $\bar{\alpha}\text{IVIT}\bar{\Lambda}\text{S}\circ\text{LONDON}$ . Annulet before and Lombardic  $\bar{n}$  in London. The pellets are very close together, as on nearly all coins of Henry IV. This penny is extremely rare, and I have only seen three specimens, one of which (Lawrence Sale Catalogue 316) is slightly varied in the bust, which has a longer neck. I have a penny of which the obverse is apparently from the same die as the latter coin after it had been converted into a Henry V die by the alteration of the pellet into a mullet. I may here note that this alteration (as I believe it to be) is in every case to be detected by the irregularity of the mullet, which never has the five points equally spaced out, whereas this irregularity is never found on coins from regular Henry V dies, where the mullet is always perfectly formed.

With the new coinage the Episcopal Mint of Durham, under the moneyer Mulkin of Florence, recommenced work, after having been apparently inactive since the early part of the reign of Richard II. The pennies now struck of Henry IV are of great rarity; the best-known and probably best-preserved specimen being that formerly in the Longstaffe collection, and illustrated in connection with Mr. Neck's paper (*Num. Chron.*, New Ser. vol. xi. pl. iii.). It reads  $\text{✠ h}\bar{\epsilon}\text{NRIQVS}\text{'-R}\bar{\epsilon}\text{X}\text{-}\bar{\Lambda}\text{N}\bar{\epsilon}\text{LI}\bar{\alpha}$ , and has a slipped trefoil on the breast. *Rev.*— $\bar{\alpha}\text{IVIT}\bar{\Lambda}\text{S DVNOLM}'$  (see **Pl. XIII. 12**). Pellets very close together. There are no varieties: the coin in the British Museum which reads  $\text{DVNVI}\bar{\alpha}$  has, I believe, been altered as regards the last three letters.

The Archiepiscopal Mint of York, so prolific during the reign of Richard II and to a certain extent active during that of Henry IV previous to the issue of the light coinage, now struck pennies closely corresponding in character with those of London and Durham. They differ from the heavy York pennies in the omission of the French title, which always appears more or less fully on the latter. The light pennies read  $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}^{\circ}\text{R}\text{EX}\cdot\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$ . There is an annulet on the breast in place of the trefoil found on those of London and Durham, and an annulet after  $\eta\epsilon\eta\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$ . The hair stands very conspicuously away from the head. *Rev.*  $\omicron\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}\text{TAS}\colon\text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}$ . One annulet before  $\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}$  and two before  $\text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}$ , quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre of cross. These pennies, which are very rare (more so, I believe, than the heavy pence), are from well-executed dies, although I have seen one or two of coarser execution. There is no specimen in the National Collection (see **Pl. XIII. 11**).

The halfpence of the light coinage are in some cases so nearly like those of the heavy that it is not always easy to determine to which they belong, owing to the weight being so often an unreliable guide. It would, however, appear that those struck from dies made for the light coinage usually, if not always, read  $\text{R}\text{EX}\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$  in place of the  $\text{R}\text{EX}\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}$  or  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\cdot\text{F}\cdot$  of the heavy halfpence. One variety reading  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$  has the head posed very decidedly to the left, and as this peculiarity is also noticeable on most of the groats and pennies, it would appear to have been a feature intentionally aimed at by a certain set of die engravers, and the coins on which it occurs may safely be classed as of the same issue. Other halfpence which from their weight should belong to the new coinage have the head large and detached from the

inner circle, while some have an annulet at each side of the bust, as on some heavy halfpence. These latter, I think, were probably struck from some of the old heavy dies on light flans. Halfpence of the heavy coinage are much less rare than any other denominations, and were probably coined in some quantity, which may account for dies being available for use for the light coinage. A light halfpenny described by Hawkins as in the Neck collection, and having a large mullet to the right and a pellet to the left of crown, is in my opinion another example of an altered die. I have a specimen of this coin (probably the original one referred to), and to me the conversion of a pellet into the mullet is quite evident, and was apparently done with the same punch used for altering the dies of the pence. The die of the halfpenny in question had originally a pellet at each side of the crown, but, unlike the case of the pennies, I have found no halfpenny struck from the unaltered die. I have, however, a very similar halfpenny with a cross pattée mint-mark, and annulets at the sides of the crown which are *unbroken*, and which I ascribe to Henry IV.

One farthing alone has so far been ascribed to the light coinage of Henry IV. Its weight is given as  $3\frac{3}{4}$  grains. It was from the Highbury find, and has passed through the Neck, Webb (Lot 120), and Montagu (Lot 496) collections. It is illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xi. pl. iii., and reads on the obverse,  $\text{✠ HENRIC REX ANGL.}$  Large head without neck or shoulders. *Rev.* CIVITAS LONDOI. Roman N's were evidently intended, but the available space was not sufficient. No halfpence, as far as I am aware, have the Roman N, which makes its use on the farthing especially remarkable.

## THE GOLD ISSUE OF THE NEW OR LIGHT COINAGE.

Although in the usual order it would come first, I felt that my theories on certain points would be made more clear by the consideration of the new gold coinage after that of the silver. The new nobles have a character quite distinct from any that had preceded them, enabling them to be readily detected at a glance by any one familiar with their appearance. The king's figure has a pose full of grace and vigour, and the workmanship is careful and artistic in a high degree. Unfortunately, however, these nobles appear to have been so hurriedly or carelessly struck, that a really fine and well-struck coin is of considerable rarity, although generally, I believe, the ordinary specimens are much less rare than they have the reputation for being. The Mint accounts given by Ruding for the fourteenth and fifteenth year of this reign state £7329 7s. as the amount of gold coined, or more than double the quantity of silver for the same period. As was usually the case, and as the coins themselves in this instance testify, the bulk of this amount of gold was coined into nobles, and the result is that to-day they are (halfpence alone excepted) probably the least rare of the coins of Henry IV. They usually read HENRICVS DI GRA REX ANGL' & FRANC' DNS HIB' & IR or PQ. There are always three lis only in the French arms, and a trefoil is always, and an annulet usually, to be found on the side of the ship, although not always in the same relative positions. In one instance (in Brit. Mus.) the annulet, instead of being on the side of the ship, is at the side of the masthead (see Pl. XII. 1). It will be noticed on examination that on some of the light nobles



the turrets at the stern and prow of the ship are finished round the top with regular architectural battlements, as on the heavy nobles of this and previous reigns, but on others a variation is introduced by having ball terminals at the angles or at intervals on a straight rail or line.

The reverse of these nobles has the same inscription and design as all previous nobles, with the cross pattée mint-mark. The slipped trefoil is, however, introduced in the field at the head of the lion in either the second, third, or fourth quarter. A pellet is usually, although not always, found behind the *n* in the central panel of the cross, which may perhaps correspond with the pellet so conspicuous on the silver coins in conjunction with the annulet. The varieties of this type of light noble are few. I have one with a slipped trefoil at the end of the reverse legend, which is so far unpublished, and Mr. Lawrence has told me of one with annulet stops instead of the usual saltires. The remarkable noble of this type, weighing 118·5 grains, to which I alluded in connection with the heavy coinage, I think must have been struck in error on a heavy flan from one of the new dies, as it has all the special marks and characteristics of the light nobles.<sup>21</sup> The foregoing comprise all the varieties of the type of nobles hitherto given to the light coinage of Henry IV, but, following out the same principle that I applied to the silver coinage, I propose to assign to him (on the same grounds) another variety of noble. This coin has the figure of the king very similar to that on the nobles of Henry V, which it also resembles in the omission of the Aquitaine title. My reasons for attributing it to

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<sup>21</sup> This coin has the slipped trefoil above the lion's tail in the second quarter.

Henry IV are that it has his mark of the annulet on the ship's rudder, and that it has no mullet (the special mark, as I believe, of Henry V), at the sword-arm or elsewhere. It also has the peculiar cross pattée, with circular sinking in the centre, ✠ at the commencement of the reverse legend, which, from the evidence of some of the silver coins, there is strong reason for considering one of the special marks of Henry IV. I may here say that the annulet on all the coins which I have attributed to this reign is always a complete circle, and quite distinct from the "broken annulet" of the Henry V coins. In fact, I think it probable that the latter was a mark adopted as a distinguishing variation from the former on the first coins of Henry V. On the last-mentioned variety of noble there is a quatrefoil above the sail of the ship. This mark, it is true, is continued by Henry V, but on a heavy noble of Henry IV in the collection of Sir John Evans the object at the tail of the lion in the second quarter which (in following Kenyon) I have described as a cross, may with equal accuracy be called a quatrefoil, which it probably is. If this be the case, it would give additional reason for assuming that certain light gold and silver coins with the quatrefoil belong to Henry IV.

Light half-nobles are extremely rare, four specimens only being at present known, of which three are in the collection of Sir John Evans, while the fourth belongs to Christ Church, Oxford. The last coin I have not seen, but the others resemble exactly the first type of light nobles in all their special characteristics. All have both the slipped trefoil and the annulet on the ship's side, and the slipped trefoil in one quarter of the reverse. The three specimens in the collection of Sir John Evans have it in the first, second, and third quarter

respectively. The turrets at prow and stern of the ship are in all three cases battlemented, and not finished with ball terminals, as on some nobles. A half-noble in the National Collection has an annulet and pellet on either side of the top limb of the reverse cross, which, in accordance with my theory, would place it with those coins which I have ventured to add to those already admitted to belong to Henry IV. The obverse of the coin in question has a mullet over the shield, which shows it to be from a die, either made for, or altered into one for, the coinage of Henry V.

Quarter-nobles of the light coinage afford more variety than either the nobles or half-nobles. They are very rare, but almost every specimen appears to differ in some more or less important detail from the others. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of some specimens is the return in the French arms to the "ancient" form, or *semé de lis* type. This is specially curious, seeing that on several specimens of the heavy noble, and even on heavy quarter-nobles, the arms of France with three lis only had been introduced. Kenyon states that nearly all specimens of light quarter-nobles have the French arms, *semé de lis*, but in this respect I think he is not quite correct. I myself have two quarter-nobles with three lis only, and there are, or were, specimens not only in the National Collection, but also in the Montagu and (I believe) Lawrence collections. No. 1 in Kenyon (quoted from Ruding) I should believe to be a heavy quarter-noble probably reduced in weight by wear. All the undoubtedly light quarter-nobles read ✠ HENRICVS (or HENRICVS) • D, DI or DEI ꝛ GRX ꝛ REX ꝛ ANGL, the French title never appearing in any form. The shield is usually surmounted by a lis, and has a slipped trefoil with

annulet beneath on either side. I have an unpublished example where the annulets are omitted. Another exceptional coin in the National Collection which reads  $\text{HENRICVS} \cdot \text{D} \cdot \text{GR}$  omits not only the lis over the shield, but the trefoils and annulets as well. On the reverse of all there is a lis in the centre of the cross, and on one example (formerly in the Lawrence collection) there is a slipped trefoil at the end of the reverse legend. This coin as well as the noble with the same characteristic to which I have before referred are both unpublished and possibly unique.

I have in my collection a curious quarter-noble that I am inclined to attribute to the class of coins which I consider should be added to those hitherto given to Henry IV. It is of rather rough work, and the legend is somewhat blundered. It reads: *Obv.* ✠  $\text{HENRIC} \cdot \text{D} \cdot \text{GR}$  ✠  $\text{R} \cdot \text{EX} \cdot \text{ANGL}$ . The stops are rather large single crosses or quatrefoils, and there is one saltire-wise over the shield. *Rev.* ✠  $\text{EXALTBITVR} \cdot \text{IN} \cdot \text{GLORIA} \cdot \text{D}$  ✠. Quatrefoil (or possibly trefoil) saltirewise after first word a lis in centre of cross. This coin may belong to either Henry IV or Henry V, as neither the annulet of the former nor the mullet of the latter appear upon it.

To summarize my views and suggestions in regard to the light coinage as briefly as possible, I will conclude with the following remarks. Having regard to the comparatively large amount of both gold and silver recorded to have been coined during the year 1412-13, and to the historical evidence of the vigour with which the new coinage was undertaken, it appears reasonable to suppose that not only the coins hitherto allowed without dispute to Henry IV belong to this coinage, but also certain other coins of a rather different type and character,

but which retain as special marks the annulet and pellet (or the annulet alone) which are such invariable characteristics of his undisputed light coins. The annulet on all coins attributable to Henry IV is a complete circle (not broken), and is thus found on all the coins to which I have referred.<sup>22</sup> The mullet I believe to be the special mark adopted for the first coins of Henry V, and where it is found on coins struck from undoubtedly Henry IV dies it has been punched on to them to convert them into dies for Henry V, a simple proceeding which I believe can be fairly well detected on the smaller coins where it has been punched over a pellet.<sup>23</sup> In connection with the annulet and pellet, I forgot previously to mention that I think it possible that the peculiar cross pattée with the sunk circle in the centre may be intended to embody these symbols. The effect is that of a pellet within a circle.

Following this paper, I have given a detailed list of all the varieties which I have been able to trace, published and unpublished, of the coins of Henry IV in each denomination of both the heavy and light coinages.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

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<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the annulet on the penny in the National Collection, illustrated on Pl XIII. 15, has a slight injury on one side, owing either to imperfect striking or to a subsequent blow, which might make it appear to be "broken," but an exactly similar coin in my own collection, although more worn, shows the annulet quite complete.

<sup>23</sup> In accordance with this theory, I believe that all early groats with the name of Henry, but on which the annulet does not appear may, with every probability, be ascribed to Henry IV. I should also ascribe to him any early half-groats on which neither the mullet nor the broken annulet appear. On this principle we can account more satisfactorily for the proportion of coins that might be expected to be still in existence from so comparatively large a coinage as that of the last year of Henry IV.

## GOLD HEAVY COINAGE.

## LONDON NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRICVS DI'VS GRA'VS REX ANGL'VS ET FRANCA'VS}$   
 $\text{DNS'VS HIB'VS ET ACQ.}$  French arms semé de lis;  
 three ropes from stern of ship, one from prow;  
 crescent on rudder; ornaments, lis, lion, lis,  
 lion, lis, lion, lis.

*Rev.*— $\text{✠ IHQ'VS AVTAM ET TRANSIENS ET PER ET MEDIVM ET}$   
 $\text{ILLORVM ET IBAT.}$  Floriated cross, &c., as on  
 nobles of previous reigns, but with h in centre  
 panel with a pellet in the middle.

Wt. 119 grs. [Pl. XI. 1.]

M. B.

2. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRICVS DI'VS GRA'VS REX ANGL'VS ET FRANCA'VS D'VS}$   
 $\text{HIB'VS ET ACQ.}$  Three lis only in French arms;  
 crescent on rudder of ship; ropes and orna-  
 ments to ship as before. The king's figure is  
 larger, and differs somewhat from No. 1.

*Rev.*—As last, but  $\text{MEDIVM ET ILLORV.}$

Wt.  $119\frac{1}{2}$  grs. From the Marsham, Montagu,  
 Durlacher, and Murdoch Collections.

3. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRICVS DI'VS GRA'VS REX ANGL'VS ET FRANCA'VS DNS}$   
 $\text{HIB'VS ET ACQ.}$  Three lis only in French arms,  
 ropes and ornaments to ship as before; bold  
 and finely posed figure of the king.

*Rev.*— $\text{✠ IHQ'VS AVTAM ET TRANSIENS ET PER ET MEDIVM ET}$   
 $\text{ILLORVM ET IBAT.}$  Small cross or quatrefoil at  
 side of crown in second quarter.

Wt.  $118\frac{1}{4}$  grs. [Pl. XI. 7.]

Sir John Evans (Kenyon, No 5).

This coin is of finer workmanship than the  
 others.

4. The noble shown in Pl. III. 3 of Ruding, of which the  
 weight is given as 113 grs., although quoted  
 by Kenyon (No. 6), is, I consider, unreliable.  
 It has apparently most of the characteristics  
 of a noble of Henry V. The vague object at

the king's wrist was probably a mullet, although in the drawing it *might* be a lis, or possibly a trefoil, but either of the latter are, I think, very unlikely to have been on the coin.


## CALAIS NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{NRI}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ DI}'\text{ GR}\bar{\text{A}}'\text{ R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \propto \text{ANGL}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{FRAN}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ DNS}'\text{ hIB}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{AQ}\bar{\text{T}}'$ . King in ship with flag at stern; French arms on shield semé de lis, three ropes from stern and one from prow; small crown perpendicularly placed at stern between rudder and inner beaded circle; ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis. The king's figure exactly resembles No. 1 of the London nobles.

*Rev.*— $\star \text{ IN}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ \Delta } \text{AVT}\bar{\text{A}}\text{M} \propto \text{TRANSI}\bar{\text{A}}\text{NS} \propto \text{PAR} \propto \text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\text{DIV} \propto \text{ILLORVM} \propto \text{IBAT}$ . Cross flory, &c., as on previous nobles, with h in centre.

M. B. From the Shepherd and Montagu Collections.

Wt.  $119\frac{1}{4}$  grs. [Pl. XI. 2.]

2. *Obv.*— $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{NRI}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ DI}'\text{ GR}\bar{\text{A}}'\text{ R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \propto \text{ANGL}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{FRAN}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ DNS}'\text{ hI}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{AQ}$ . King in ship, with flag at stern; French arms have three lis only, but arranged , and intended for semé de lis; crown horizontally on ship's rudder; ship ornaments as last.

*Rev.*—All as last.

Wt.  $103\frac{1}{2}$  grs., but much clipped. [Pl. XI. 5]

Sir John Evans (Kenyon, No. 3, but there imperfectly described).

3. *Obv.*— $\text{H}\bar{\text{A}}\text{NRI}\bar{\text{Q}} \dots \text{ANGL}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{FRAN}\bar{\text{Q}}'\text{ DI}'\text{ hIB}'\text{ \Sigma } \propto \text{AQ}\bar{\text{A}}$   
Flag at stern of ship; French arms semé de lis; crown placed horizontally on rudder of ship; three ropes from stern, one from prow; ship ornaments, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion lis.


*Rev.*—All as before.

Ruding, Pl. I. 13.

## LONDON HALF-NOBLES.

None, so far, discovered.

## CALAIS HALF-NOBLE.

*Obv.*— $\text{HENRICVS DI' GR' REX ANGL' S' FRAN' D' h' S'}$   
 $\text{AQ.}$  Three lis in French arms on shield, but  
 arranged , and intended for semé de lis;  
 flag at stern; two ropes from stern, and two (?)  
 from prow of ship; ornaments, lion, lis, lion,  
 lis, lion, lis.

*Rev.*—M.M. crown dividing legend, exactly similar to  
 that which on the nobles is at the stern of  
 the ship.  $\text{DOMINA N' IN FVRORE TVO}$   
 $\text{AREVTS M.}$  Floriated cross, &c., with  $\text{h}$  in  
 centre.

Wt.  $58\frac{1}{2}$  grs. [Pl. XI. 3.] Sir John Evans,  
 from the Shepherd, Montagu, and Murdoch  
 Collections—unique.

## LONDON QUARTER-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRICVS DI' GR' ANGL' S' FRAN'}$  ( $\text{RAX}$   
 omitted). French arms on shield semé de lis;  
 crescent over shield.

*Rev.*— $\text{EXALTBITVR IN GLORIA.}$  Usual floriated  
 cross with pellet in centre.

Wt. 30 grs. [Pl. XI. 4.] Sir John Evans.

2. *Obv.*— $\text{HENRI DI' GR' REX ANGL'}$ . Three lis only in  
 French arms, arranged in the ordinary form;  
 crescent over shield.


*Rev.*—As last, pellet in centre of cross.

Wt. 25 grs., but considerably clipped.

F. A. W.



## CALAIS QUARTER-NOBLE.

*Obv.*— $h\epsilon n R I Q' DI' GR\Lambda' R\epsilon X \bowtie \Lambda n G L' \Sigma \times F R \Lambda'.$  No initial cross to legend or emblem over shield; three lis in French arms arranged .

*Rev.*— $\alpha X \Lambda T \Lambda B I T V R \colon I N \colon G L O R I \Lambda \colon.$  M.M. crown (in place of usual cross to legend), exactly similar to that on the noble and half-noble. Floriated cross with pellet in centre. [Pl. XI. 6]

I attribute this quarter-noble to Calais, owing to the crown mint-mark, which connects it unquestionably with the noble and half-noble of that mint. It weighs only 25 grains, but is considerably worn. It is in the National Collection, and is attributed by Kenyon to the light coinage of Henry VI, which is obviously incorrect. I myself have another specimen, weighing  $27\frac{1}{2}$  grains, although a piece is broken out of the edge.

## SILVER HEAVY COINAGE.

## GROATS.

These I believe to exist, although bearing the name of Richard II, and have already described them. That having the crescent on the breast is so unmistakably connected with some of the gold heavy coins of Henry IV that I think there can be little doubt of its being his.

## HALF-GROATS.

*Obv.*—✠  $h\epsilon n R I Q' DI' GR\Lambda' R\epsilon X \bowtie \Lambda n G L' \Sigma \times F.$  Bust with bushy hair, and differing from that of Richard II; star of six long points on the cusp of tressure on breast.

*Rev.*—✠  $P O S V I . D \epsilon V M \times \Lambda D I V T O R \epsilon M \times M \epsilon V Q U I T A S L O I I D O I I.$  Unbarred N's; usual cross and pellets. [Pl. XII. 8.]

Wt. 33 grs. F. A. W. (from the Willett, Martin, Shepherd, Montagu, and Murdoch Collections); figured in Hawkins, No. 323, but imperfectly described and shown.

Mr. Rashleigh has the only other known specimen, which weighs  $35\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

### LONDON PENNIES.

*Obv.*—✠  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \cdot \text{D} \cdot \text{G} \cdot \text{R}\text{EX} \cdot \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \cdot \text{F}$ . Bust with long, thin neck, and bushy, outstanding hair; star of six long points on breast.

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S} \text{ L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$ . Usual cross and pellets, with an additional small pellet in first and third quarter.

Wt.  $17\frac{3}{4}$  grs. From the Highbury find and Neck and Webb Collections.

I have an exactly similar penny also from the same source and collections, but which, owing to clipping, only weighs 14 grs. The description is from the latter coin.

Mr. Rashleigh has a penny weighing  $16\frac{1}{2}$  grs., which is that described in Whitbourn's Sale Catalogue (Lot 181) as "of the London Mint, unique, and unpublished."

The three foregoing pennies are all that I can trace of the heavy coinage. Hawkins mentions one reading  $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$ , but gives no weight or other particulars. The reading appears to be that of a light penny.

### YORK PENNIES.

1. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \cdot \text{R}\text{EX} \cdot \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \cdot \text{Z} \cdot \text{F}\text{R}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}$  or  $\text{F}\text{R}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}$ .

*Rev.*— $\text{Q}\text{U}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S} \text{ A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}$ . Quatrefoil in centre of cross, with pellet in the middle.

2. *Obv.*—✠  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \cdot \text{R}\text{EX} \cdot \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A} \cdot \text{F}$ .

*Rev.*—As last. [Pl. XII. 12.]

Specimens are known weighing 18 grs. All have a rather large head with thin neck and bushy hair, rather resembling some late pence of Edward III.

## HALFPENNIES.

1. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRICVS · REX · ANGL. Rather large head ; bust detached from inner circle.

*Rev.*—QVITAS LONDON. Specimens weighing  $7\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , and 9 grs. Hawkins, No. 324.

2. *Obv.*—hēNRIC · REX · ANGLIÆ. Large head, with bushy hair ; lower part of bust detached from inner circle.

*Rev.*—As last.

Wt. 10 grs.

3. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRIC · REX · ANGL. Smaller bust, with hair closer to head ; large cross pattée and lettering ; double pellets as stops.

*Rev.*—As before, with large lettering.

Wt. 9 grs., although rather worn. [Pl. XII. 10.] F. A. W., from Longstaffe Collection.

4. *Obv.*—Inscription as last ; saltire stops ; rather small bust, detached from inner circle, and showing indications of drapery ; annulet at each side of neck.

Wt.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  (*ex* Longstaffe Collection) and 11 grs. Webb and Montagu.

5. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRIC · REX · ANGLIÆ. King's head very large ; lower part of bust attached to inner circle.

Wts.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  and  $11\frac{1}{4}$  grs. Neck (from Highbury find).

6. *Obv.*—✠ hēN . . D . REX ANGLIÆ. Three-quarter face portrait of the king.

Wt. 10 grs. Neck (from Highbury find).

Mr. Neck gives several other examples of minor

varieties, all from the Highbury find, in *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., vol. xi. p. 109.

### HEAVY FARTHING.

*Obv.*—✠ hēnRīc REX ANGLI. Head crowned, facing ; mint-mark cross.

*Rev.*—αIVITAS LONDON. Cross with pellets.

Wt.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  grs., unique. From the Churchill Babington Collection (Lot 522). Montagu Sale Catalogue (Lot 486).

### GOLD LIGHT COINAGE.

#### NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—hēnRīc' DI ꝥ GRÆ REX ꝥ ANGL' ꝥ FRÆC' DNS ꝥ hIB ꝥ ꝥ ΛQ. Three lis in the French arms ; three ropes at stern and one at prow of ship ; ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, lis, annulet and slipped trefoil on second plank ; turrets finished on top with ball terminals.

*Rev.*—✠ Ihc ꝥ AVTAM ꝥ TRANSIENS ꝥ PÆR ꝥ MÆDIVM ꝥ ILLORVM ꝥ IBAT. Usual floriated cross with h in centre, with pellet behind ; slipped trefoil at head of lion in second quarter.

Wt. 108 grs. [Pl. XII. 2.] Sir John Evans.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but turrets of ship are finished on top with battlements, and the ornaments of side are lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis.

*Rev.*—As last, but reads ILLORV, and slipped trefoil is in third quarter. Sir John Evans.

3. *Obv.*—hēnRīc' DI ꝥ GRÆ REX ꝥ ANGL' ꝥ FRÆC' DNS ꝥ hIB' ꝥ ΙΟΛ. Ropes and ornaments to ship as No. 1 ; slipped trefoil only on side of ship ; annulet at side of mast-head.

*Rev.*—ILLORV. Slipped trefoil in fourth quarter.

Wt. 106 grs. [Pl. XII. 1.] M. B.

4. *Obv.*—hēnRīc' DI ꝥ GRÆ REX ꝥ ANGL' ꝥ FRÆC' DNS ꝥ hIB ꝥ ꝥ ΛQ. Slipped trefoil and annulet on ship's side.

*Rev.*—Reads ILLORV; slipped trefoil at end of legend and at head of lion in fourth quarter.

Wt. 106½ grs.

F. A. W.

5. *Obv.*—hænRIQ DEI GRÆ REX ANGL ꝛ FRANQ D hYB  
 ΠQ. Stops where visible, broken (?) annulets;  
 slipped trefoil on ship.

*Rev.*—Reads MÆDIV ILLORVM. Stops, saltires; slipped trefoil over head of lion in third quarter.

L. A. Lawrence.

This coin is in a worn state, and I believe that the annulet stops on the obverse are not broken, although Mr. Lawrence is of the contrary opinion.

6. *Obv.*—Same reading as last; stops, saltires; slipped trefoil on second plank of ship's side.

*Rev.*—MÆDIVM ꝛ ILLORV. Slipped trefoil over head of lion in fourth quarter.

Manley-Foster Sale Catalogue, Lot 25.

7. *Obv.*—hænRIQ' DI ꝛ GRÆ REX ꝛ ANGL ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ FRANQ'  
 DNS ꝛ hYB †. Three ropes from stern, two from prow of ship; annulet on rudder; ornaments, lion, two lis, lion, two lis; quatrefoil over sail of ship; no emblem at sword-arm.

*Rev.*—✠ IHQ' AVTAM ꝛ TRANSIENS ꝛ PÆR ꝛ MÆDIV'  
 ILLORV' ꝛ IBAT. Quatrefoil at head of lion in second quarter; mint-mark, cross pattée, with circular sinking in centre.

I ascribe this noble to Henry IV for reasons given in this paper.

#### HALF-NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—hænRIQ ꝛ DI ꝛ G REX ꝛ ANGL' ꝛ ꝛ FRANQ D' ꝛ N' ΠQ.  
 Ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis;  
 annulet and slipped trefoil on second plank;  
 two ropes from stern and one from prow;  
 turrets at stern and prow finished with battlemented tops; three lis in French arms.

*Rev.*—† DOMINA ꝛ NA ꝛ IN ꝛ FVRORA ꝛ TVO ꝛ ARGVAS ꝛ  
MA ꝛ. Slipped trefoil over tail of lion in third  
quarter.

2. *Obv. and rev.*—All as last, but no stops at end of  
reverse legend, and slipped trefoil at head of  
lion in second quarter. [Pl. XII. 3.]

3. *Obv. and rev.*—All as last, but slipped trefoil at head  
of lion in first quarter.

Wt. of all about 53 grs. Sir John Evans.

These three and the one at Christ Church, Oxford, are,  
so far, the only half-nobles known.

#### QUARTER NOBLES.

1. *Obv.*—† HENRIQVS ꝛ D ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ ANGL. French  
arms semé de lis.

*Rev.*—† AXALTABITVR ꝛ IN ꝛ GLORIA ꝛ. Lis in centre  
of cross.

Wt. 18·8 grs.

M. B.

2. *Obv.*—† HENRIQ DAI GRA REX ANGL. Trefoil after  
each word of legend; French arms semé de lis,  
and lis above shield.

*Rev.*—Legend as last, but h after GLORIA; trefoils  
between each word.

Wt. 23½ grs. Montagu Sale Catalogue,  
Lot 481.

3. *Obv.*—† HENRIQ ꝛ DAI ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ ANGL. French arms  
semé de lis; lis above; slipped trefoil with  
annulet beneath on each side of shield.

*Rev.*—† Usual legend as before; saltire stops; lis in  
centre of cross.

Wt. 20·8 grs. [Pl. XII. 4.]

M. B.

4. *Obv.*—† HENRIQ ꝛ DI ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ ANGL. Three lis  
only in French arms; lis over shield; slipped  
trefoil with annulet beneath on each side.

*Rev.*—† AXALTABITVR ꝛ IN ꝛ GLORIA ꝛ. Lis in centre  
of cross.

Wt. 21½ grs.

F. A. W.

- 5 *Obv. and rev.*—All as last, but no annulets below the trefoils at sides of shield.

Wt.  $25\frac{1}{2}$  grs. [Pl. XII. 5.] F. A. W.

6. *Obv. and rev.*—As last, but annulets below trefoils at sides of shield; number of lis in French arms not stated.

*Rev.*—Slipped trefoil after GLORIA.

Weight not stated. Catalogue of the L. A. Lawrence Collection, Lot 295.

## LIGHT SILVER COINAGE.

### GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIC DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE & FRANCIE.  
King's bust within a tressure of ten arches, those above crown not fleured; shoulders draped and detached from tressure; slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown; peculiar hair standing well away from head. The bust and general character of this coin strongly resembles that on one of the heavy groats with the name of Richard.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM CIVITAS LONDON. Usual cross and pellets; slipped trefoil after POSVI.

Wt.  $55\frac{1}{2}$  grs. [Pl. XIII. 1.] F. A. W.

This is apparently the coin illustrated in Withy and Ryall's plates.

2. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIC (altered from RICHARD) DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE. Bust of somewhat the Richard II type, with full bushy hair, trefoil on breast punched over ordinary fleur; pellet to left, annulet to right of crown; signs of drapery on shoulders.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM CIVITAS LONDON. Usual cross and pellets.

Lawrence Collection, Lot 299 of Catalogue, from the Bateman Cabinet.

- 3 *Obv.*—✠ ΗΑΝΡΙΧ' ΔΑΙ Ζ ΓΡΑ' ΡΕΧ Ζ ΑΝΓΛΙΑ'. King's bust within tressure of nine arches, all fleured, shoulders draped; slipped trefoil on breast; small pellet to left of crown, and larger one, or possibly annulet, to right. The bust on this coin is rather similar to that on the one last described.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ΔΕΥΜ Ζ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡΑΜ Ζ ΜΑΥ' ΑΙΥΙΤΑΣ LONDON. Usual cross and pellets.

Wt. 57 grs. [Pl. XII. 2.] M. B.

4. *Obv.*—Similar to last, but legend ending ΑΝΓΛ' Ζ FRΑΝΑ; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—Saltire after POSVI; slipped trefoil before LONDON.

Montagu Collection, Lot 488 of Sale Catalogue.

5. *Obv.*—✠ ΗΑΝΡΙΑ ΔΙ Ζ ΓΡΑ' ΡΕΧ Ζ ΑΝΓΛΙΑ Ζ Ζ FRΑΝΑ. King's bust slightly posed to the right, with peculiar, thin, outstanding hair; annulet on left side, and pellet over crown; to the right slipped trefoil on breast.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ✠ ΔΕΥΜ Ζ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡΑΜ Ζ ΜΑΥΜ ΑΙΥΙΤΑΣ LONDON.

Wt. 48 grs. M. B.

6. *Obv.*—All as last, but arch on breast fleured.

*Rev.*—As last, but circular sinking (?) in initial cross.

F. A. W.

7. *Obv.*—✠ ΗΑΝΡΙΑ' ΔΙ Ζ ΓΡΑ Ζ ΡΕΧ Ζ ΑΝΓΛΙΑ Ζ Ζ FRΑΝΑ' ✠. Trefoil at end of legend; bust of king as last, but not posed to one side; signs of drapery about shoulders, and slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to left, and pellet to right of crown; arches of tressure all fleured.

*Rev.*—All as last; slipped trefoil after POSVI.

[Pl. XIII. 3.] Sir John Evans.

8. *Obv.*—As last; trefoil at end of legend; pellet at each side of crown.



*Rev.*—Saltire after POSVI; slipped trefoil after QIVITAS.

Wt.  $54\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

F. A. W.

9. *Obv.*—✠ hēNRIC'⁹ DI' GR' REX' ANGLI'⁹ & FR'AN'.  
Annulet to left; pellet over crown; slipped trefoil on breast; bust posed to right; typical thin, outstanging hair.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ✠ D'AVM' ADIVTOR'⁹ M'AVM QIVITAS' LONDON'. Mint-mark cross pattée, with circular sinking; quatrefoil after POSVI; Lombardic n's in London.

Wt. 58 grs. [Pl. XIII. 6.]

M. B.

There was a coin of this type in the Montagu Collection, and I have another myself.

10. *Obv.*—As last, but slipped trefoil after FR'AN'; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown; mullet on right shoulder. (This I believe to have been punched on the die to make it serve for one for Henry V.)

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ✠ D'AVM' ADIVTOR'⁹ M'AVM QIVITAS' LONDON'. Plain cross mint-mark; Lombardic n's in London.

L. A. Lawrence Collection, Lot 304 in Catalogue.

11. *Obv.*—+ hēNRIC'⁹ DI' GR' REX' ANGLI'⁹ & FR'AN-  
QI'⁹ +. Bust of rather different character, posed slightly to left; hair standing far away from head; signs of drapery on shoulders; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown, slipped trefoil on breast and at end of legend

*Rev.*—Legend ends ADIVTOR'⁹ M'AVM. Mint-mark plain cross, with circular sinking; small saltire after POSVI; Lombardic n's in London.

Wt. 55 grs.

F. A. W.

From the Montagu Collection, Lot 164 (final portion).

12. *Obv.*—All as last, but legend ends FR'AN' +; pellet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—Mint-mark, cross pattée pierced.

Wt. 57 grs. Montagu Collection, Lot 490.

13. *Obv.*—All as last, but pellet to left of crown.

*Rev.*—Slipped trefoil after POSVI; the first V in London is Roman and the second Lombardic.

Neck and Webb Collections. Lot 111 in Catalogue of the latter.

14. *Obv.*—✠ HENRICVS DI GRATIA REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE  
Short thick bust, with large head and different type of hair; all the cusps of tressure fleured, including that on breast; no emblems at sides of crown; mint-mark cross pattée, with circular sinking.

*Rev.*—Mint-mark plain cross; legend ends ADIVTORE MN.

Lawrence Collection, Catalogue, No. 302.

The “swelling on king’s throat” is the fleur of the cusp.

15. All as last, but reverse legend ends ADIVTORE MN.

16. *Obv.*—Mint-mark cross pattée, with circular sinking; inscription as last; quatrefoil after HENRICVS; different bust, with smaller head and longer neck; all arches of tressure fleured.

*Rev.*—Mint-mark cross pattée, with circular sinking; no mark after POSVI. F. A. W.

The last three coins are of types previously classified either as of “Henry IV or V,” or “early Henry V,” but I give them to Henry IV for reasons previously stated.

#### HALF-GROATS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HENRICVS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE ET F. Bust of the king resembling that on the heavy half-groat; slipped trefoil on breast; large pellet or annulet to right, pellet to left of crown.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ꝛ DÆV ꝛ DIVIT ꝛ ORÆM ꝛ CIVITAS LON-  
DON Usual cross and pellets. [Pl. XIII. 4.]

F. A. W. From the Lindsay, Robinson, and  
Montagu Collections.

2. *Obv.*—✠ hÆNRIC DI GRÆ RÆX ANGL ꝛ F. Trefoil  
on king's breast; pellets at side of crown.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI DÆVM ꝛ DIVITOREM MÆV CIVITAS  
LONDON. Trefoil after London.

L. A. Lawrence Collection.

3. *Obv.*—Exactly as last, but annulet distinct at right  
of crown.

*Rev.*—✠ POSVI ꝛ DÆVM ꝛ ꝛ DIVITOREM ꝛ MÆV CIVITAS ꝛ  
LONDON'. Large hole below bust.

L. A. Lawrence.

4. *Obv.*—✠ hÆNRIC ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRÆ ꝛ ANGL' ꝛ ꝛ F. Bust with  
very outstanding hair, having indications of  
drapery, and slipped trefoil on breast; pellets  
at sides of crown.

*Rev.*—POSVI DÆV ꝛ DIVITORE ꝛ MÆ CIVITAS LONDON.  
Pellets united and small.

Wt. 29 grs. F. A. W. From the Webb,  
Montagu, and Murdoch Collections.

5. *Obv.*—✠ Cross pattée, with sunk circle in centre.  
hÆNRIC ꝛ DI ꝛ GRÆ ꝛ RÆX ꝛ ANGL ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ F ꝛ.  
Rather different bust, with hair closer to  
head; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown;  
arch of tressure on breast fleured.

*Rev.*—POSVI ꝛ DÆV ꝛ DIVITORE ꝛ MÆ CIVITAS LONDON  
Usual cross and pellets. F. A. W.

This half-groat corresponds in character with the  
groats 14, 15, and 16, but has the annulet and pellet at  
sides of crown, which the groats have not.

6. All as last, but without the annulet and pellet at sides  
of the crown. F. A. W.

A half-groat from the Neck and Webb collections, and now in the National Collection, has the reverse from a die of Henry IV, with the Roman N in London, but the obverse is from a die of Henry V, with his mark of the broken annulet to the left of the crown. This coin must, therefore, have been struck by Henry V.

### LONDON PENNIES.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIC DI GRA REX ANGL. Bust like Richard II, with bushy hair; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown; (?) trefoil on breast.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS LONDON. Roman N's; pellets united; rather worn and clipped. [Pl. XIII. 5.]  
F. A. W.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but mullet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—Lombardic n's in London. Hawkins, 326.

The obverse of this coin I believe to be from a similar die to No. 1, with the pellet at right of crown altered to a mullet to make it serve for Henry V.

3. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIC REX ANGLIA. Different bust, with very outstanding hair; having drapery on shoulders, and slipped trefoil on breast; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—✠ CIVITAS LONDON. Roman N's; slipped trefoil before "Civitas." [Pl. XIII. 8.] M. B.

4. *Obv.*—Exactly as last, but mullet instead of pellet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS LONDON. [Pl. XIII. 9.]

F. A. W. From the Sainthill and Montagu Collections.

I believe that, like No. 2, the obverse of this coin is from a Henry IV die altered for Henry V. The reverse is from a regular Henry V die.

5. *Obv.*—✠ hēnRīc' DI' GR' REX ANGL. Mint-mark cross pattée, with sunk circle in centre; different bust, with larger head and very short neck and shoulders; no indications of drapery; annulet to left, pellet to right of crown.

*Rev.*—o CIVITAS LONDON. Annulet before London; pellets united.

Wt.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  grs. [Pl. XIII. 15.]

M. B. From the Highbury find.

This very rare coin corresponds with the groat and half-groat, having the mint-mark cross pattée, with sunk circle in centre.

#### YORK PENNIES.

*Obv* — ✠ hēnRīc o REX ANGLIÆ. Portrait as on London pennies, with outstanding hair; an annulet on the breast and after hēnRīc.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS EBBORACI. Quatrefoil, with pellet in middle, in centre of cross; two annulets before EBBORACI. [Pl. XIII. 11.]

Some York pennies are of coarser workmanship, but I have remarked no variety of detail.

#### DURHAM PENNIES.

*Obv* — ✠ hēnRīcvs REX ANGLIÆ. Portrait more resembling the heavy London penny, with long neck and outstanding hair, slipped trefoil on breast.

*Rev.*—CIVITAS DVNOLM'. Pellets united.  
[Pl. XIII. 12.]

F. A. W., from Longstaffe Collection.

As I have remarked, I believe that the coin in the British Museum reading DVNVIQ has been altered as regards the last three letters, otherwise it appears perfectly genuine.

### HALFPENNIES.

1. *Obv.*—✠ HENRIQ REX ANGLIA. Head of the king slightly posed to the left.

*Rev.*—QIVITAS LONDON. Pellets not united.

Wt.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  grs. [Pl. XIII. 13.]

2. *Obv.*—As last, but head larger, and bust detached from inner circle.

*Rev.*—As last, but pellets united.

Wt.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

Some of the varieties described amongst the heavy halfpennies are also found of light weight, showing that they were probably struck from old dies.

### FARTHING.

*Obv.*—✠ HENRIQ REX ANGL. Large head, no neck or shoulders; within dotted circle.

*Rev.*—QIVI TTS LOI DOI

Wt.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  grs. From the Highbury find and after in the Webb and Montagu Collections.

F. A. W.

### XIII.

#### A NUMISMATIC QUESTION RAISED BY SHAKESPEARE.

SOME little time ago I was appealed to, as a numismatist, in order that I might offer some explanation as to what at first sight appeared to be a rather difficult question raised by a passage in one of Shakespeare's plays. As the matter may be of some interest to a Society like ours, especially devoted to the study of the coinage of the United Kingdom, I make no apology for introducing it, somewhat trivial though it may seem to be.

The passage concerned occurs in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act i. scene 1 :—

“*Falstaff*. Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?

“*Slender*. Ay, by these gloves did he, (or I would I might never come in mine own great chamber again else,) of seven groats in mill-sixpences, and two Edward shovel-boards, that cost me two shilling and two pence a-piece of Yead Miller, by these gloves.”

I may premise before entering upon my subject, that though the period represented in this play is probably that of Henry IV, yet that, regardless of any amount of anachronism, the allusions to money relate to the currency of the reign of Elizabeth or even that of James I, rather than to that of the period in which the scenes are laid.

In illustration of this I need hardly refer to the well-known speech of the Bastard Faulconbridge.<sup>1</sup>

“my face so thin,  
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,  
Lest men should say, Look, where three-farthings goes.”

In this passage a coin first struck under Elizabeth is made to do duty in the reign of King John.

It will be noticed that in the passage now under discussion three denominations of coins are mentioned: “groats,” “mill-sixpences,” and “Edward shovel-boards.” I propose to treat of the last-mentioned first.

In the Imperial Dictionary “shovel-board” is defined as “A board on which they play by sliding metal pieces at a mark.” Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in a note on *Pepys's Diary*,<sup>2</sup> says, “The game of shovel-board was played by two players (each provided with five coins) on a smooth heavy table. On the table were marked with chalk a series of lines, and the play was to strike the coin on the edge of the table with the hand so that it rested between these lines.

Shovel-boards or shuffle-boards were long narrow tables, usually about 20 to 30 feet long, such as are still not infrequently to be seen in old family houses. Strutt mentions one at a low public-house in Benjamin Street, near Clerkenwell Green, which was about three feet in breadth and thirty-nine feet two inches in length, and said to be the longest in his time in London. It was at the White Hart at Woolwich, and at Hackney that Pepys records his having played at shuffle-board, and it

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<sup>1</sup> *King John*, act i. sc. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 293; see also Nares' *Glossary*, s.v.



was at a good honest ale-house that Izaak Walton's "brother Peter" played at shovel-board half the day.

There appear to have been two distinct games with nearly similar names, "shove-groat" and "shovel-board." The former was a low kind of gambling amusement which was prohibited by Act of Parliament,<sup>3</sup> 33 H. VIII, under the name of slide-thrift. The latter, as we have seen, was in use in the private houses of the upper classes as well as in ordinary inns and public-houses. Shove-groat does not appear to have required a table or board, and may have been somewhat of the nature of "pitch-and-toss." When Pistol has to be ejected downstairs, Falstaff cries out,<sup>4</sup> "Quoit him down, Bardolph, like a shove-groat shilling." Such quoiting seems very different from the smooth sliding course of the shovel-board coin. "Away slid my man like a shovel-board shilling," is an expressive simile used in *The Roaring Girle*<sup>5</sup> by Middleton and Dekker, 1611. Sometimes, however, the two games are confounded by play-wrights. "Made it run smooth off the tongue as a shove-groat shilling," as used by Ben Jonson in his *Every Man in his Humour*,<sup>6</sup> evidently refers to shovel-board.

A Latin poem in praise of the game will be found in *Musae Anglicanae* (5th ed. 1741, vol. i. p. 14). It is entitled "Mensa lubrica *Anglice* Shovel-Board," and its author was Thomas Masters, A.M., Fellow of New College, Oxford. The poem enters into some of the niceties of the game, but the *orbiculi* are not specially described as King Edward VI shillings. In the British Museum is preserved an English version as a separate

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<sup>3</sup> *N. & Q.*, 7th S. vii. p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> 2nd Part, *King Henry IV*, act i. sc. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Old Plays*, vi. p. 103 (p. 1, ed. 1825).

<sup>6</sup> Act iii. sc. 5.

tract, with the title, *The Shovel-Board Table turned*; but a knowledge of the game is necessary in order to understand the points.

It is not, however, with the table or the game that we are immediately concerned, but with the "pieces of metal" made to slide upon the table. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that Slender's "Edward shovel-boards" were the broad fine shillings of the latter part of the reign of Edward VI. Indeed, the old quarto edition reads, "two faire shovel-board shillings besides seven groats in mill-sixpences."

Taylor the Water-Poet has addressed a poem "to all those that have been, are, or would be, masters of a shilling or twelve pence."<sup>7</sup> After comparing a twelve-pence's travels with those of Sir John Mandeville, Marco Polo and others, which are nothing in comparison with those of a shilling which passes sixteen times a day from one man's pocket to another, he says in a note that "Edward shillings for the most part are used at shouue-board." In describing the shilling he writes—

"About my circle, I a Posie haue  
The title God unto the King first gaue,  
The circle that encompasseth my face  
Declares my Soueraigne's title, by God's grace.  
Upon my other side is POSVI DEVM  
Whereto is added ADIVTOREM MEVM.<sup>8</sup>  
The which last Posie annagrammatiz'd,  
*Wisdom*e admit me power, true compriz'd  
Wisdome at first upon me did bestowe  
Such power that for a *Shillink* I should goe,  
When *Wisdom*e gave me power, I was then  
A servant not a Master vnto men."

<sup>7</sup> Taylor's *Workes*, ed 1630, vol 1 p. 68, see also Halliday's *Dict of Archaisms*, etc, 3rd ed, 1855, s.v. Shovel-board.

<sup>8</sup> There is an M too few in the English. Probably the shilling bore MEV, and not MEVM.

The most interesting part of the poem is, however, the complaint of a shovel-board shilling as to the manner in which it has become worn.

“You see my face is beardless, smoothe and plaine,  
Because my soveraigne was a child 'tis knowne  
When as he did put on the English Crowne.  
But had my stamp been bearded, as with haire,  
Long before this it had beene worne and bare.  
For why? With me the vnthrifts every day,”  
With my face downwards do at shoue-board play,  
That had I had a beard you may suppose  
Th' had worne it off, as they haue done my nose.”

This statement as to the Edward shillings being placed face downwards in the game throws some light on the cause of the obverse of these coins being so frequently more worn than the reverse. The enhanced value of the shillings which, if Slender spoke the truth, was in his case 117 per cent. above the current value, shows that they must, in fact, have been in most cases withdrawn from circulation, and accounts for their rarely occurring in ordinary hoards. There were, however, a few present in the Crediton hoard of 1884.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, this enhanced value affords a reason why, at all events within my memory, it was sometimes the case that a small hoard of Edward VI. fine shillings was to be found among the hereditary treasures of old families.

It is, however, time to turn to the other coins mentioned in Slender's complaint. We may safely accept the groat as being of the ordinary value of fourpence, though instances of the use of the word to indicate higher values are not wanting. But the question is, how can the definite number of seven groats, or two shillings and fourpence, be the equivalent of a definite number of sixpences?

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<sup>9</sup> *Num Chron*, Ser. III. xvii. p. 59.

As Malone puts it, "How could twenty-eight pence be lost in mill-sixpences? Slender, however, has not explained it to us." The fact that it is not ordinary, but mill or milled sixpences that are concerned, seems to me to afford a possible answer to the question. Is it not probable that the milled sixpences of Elizabeth, like the Edward VI shillings that we have had under consideration, bore an enhanced value? They were struck during a period of fifteen years from 1561 to 1575 in comparatively small numbers, the bulk of the currency having been hammered coins.

This comparative rarity is fully borne out by the records of hoards. In the Flamborough<sup>10</sup> find there were present 103 sixpences of Elizabeth, none of them milled; in that of Long Crendon,<sup>11</sup> out of 306, one was milled; at Whaplode,<sup>12</sup> Lincolnshire, there was one milled out of 21 sixpences; at East Worlington,<sup>13</sup> only one out of 1053; and at Crediton,<sup>14</sup> one out of 617.

Those in their usual condition show, moreover, but small signs of wear by circulation, and it appears not improbable that, like the shillings and sixpences of George III with the date 1787, the milled sixpences, or those coined by a "mill" or machine, and not by hand, were frequently treasured as pocket-pieces, or kept in the purse to be used as counters at games, or for casting accounts.

My attention has been called by Mr. Clement J. Wilkinson, of Windsor, to a passage in one of Ben Jonson's *Masques*, "The Gypsies metamorphosed," which strongly corroborates the view that the milled sixpences

<sup>10</sup> *Num Chron*, New Ser., xvii. p. 165.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Ser III. v p 333.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii. p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p 159.

were often kept as pocket-pieces. The passage is as follows:—

“*Cockrel*. What was there in thy purse? Thou keepst such a whimpering. Was the lease of thy house in it?

“*Puppy*. Or thy grannam’s silver ring?

“*Clod*. No, but a mill sixpence of my mother’s, I loved as dearly, and a two pence I had to spend over and above the harper that was gathered amongst us to pay the piper.”<sup>15</sup>

This introduces another coin, the harper, which, as Gifford remarks, was the Irish shilling with a harp on the reverse, which was current in England for ninepence. He gives in illustration quotations from Dekker, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Heywood. See also Ruding.<sup>16</sup> We still speak of “bringing our noble to ninepence.” Many will remember the lines in *Hudibras*<sup>17</sup>:—

“Like commendation nine-pence crook’t  
With—to and from my Love—it lookt.”

The practice of reckoning with counters was still in vogue in Shakespeare’s time, but for this purpose a “jet” of counters, often 50 or 60 in number, and sometimes even 100, could be employed, as witness the quantities presented in the Low Countries mentioned by Snelling.<sup>18</sup>

When multiplication tables and Arabic numerals were practically unknown by the common people, counters were almost a necessity. In the *Winter’s Tale*<sup>19</sup> we find a clown describing his embarrassment as follows: “Let me see;—’leven wether tods, every tod yields pound and odd shilling—fifteen hundred shorn,—what comes the

<sup>15</sup> *Works*, ed Gifford, 1816, vol. vii. p. 403.

<sup>16</sup> Vol i. p. 340.

<sup>17</sup> *Canto* I. l. 487.

<sup>18</sup> *Jettons or Counters*, 1769, p. 13. Snelling sets forth the method of computing by counters; see also *Reorde’s Grounde of Arts*, 1540.

<sup>19</sup> *Winter’s Tale*, act iv. sc. 3.

wool to? I cannot do it without counters." His counters were probably much fewer than 50 or 60 in number.

That milled sixpences were used as counters even for accounts seems evident from a passage in Sir William Davenant's *News from Plimouth*,<sup>20</sup> where two Sea-captains discourse:—

"*Seawit*. How thrives your treasure, *Cable*? When your looks  
Are heavy, we shall need small Magick to  
Divine your Pockets lighte. "*Cable*. A few  
Mild-Sixpences with which  
My Purser casts Accompt is all I've left."

"By way of counters to cast up money," says Stevens, who quotes the passage in connection with Slender's speech.

For the purpose of ordinary markers or counters at games analogous with long whist, or for any scoring up to ten four counters would suffice, and I submit that Slender bestowed his seven groats, or two shillings and fourpence, in the purchase of four milled sixpences of Elizabeth at the slightly enhanced price of sevenpence apiece.

I have formerly<sup>21</sup> shown that when Henry III was in need of some of his gold pennies for offerings in church, he had to buy them at the rate of twenty-four pence apiece instead of at their original value of twenty-pence, and Slender may have been fortunate in not having to pay more than 17 per cent. premium in his bargain for the mill-sixpences, instead of the 117 per cent. that he had to pay Yead Miller for the Edward shovel-boards.

JOHN EVANS.

<sup>20</sup> *Works*, London, 1673, act i. sc 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Num. Chron.*, Ser III. xx. p. 228.

## NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION.

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*John of Gaunt.* By Sidney Armitage-Smith. Archibald Constable & Co. Westminster, 1904.

In noticing this interesting work in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* there is no intention to review it as a biography of one of the most remarkable characters in the history of England during the second half of the fourteenth century, but only to draw attention to it so far as it relates to the special subject of numismatics.

Fourth son of Edward III, John of Gaunt by his first marriage, with Blanche daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, succeeded to that duchy, and by her was the father of a son named Henry, who afterwards became Henry IV of England. By his second marriage, with Constance daughter of Pedro the Cruel, he assumed the title of King of Castille and Leon, and on two occasions invaded Spain to obtain possession of that kingdom. On the death of his father he became virtually guardian to his nephew, Richard II, and for a period of twelve years administrator of the government of this country, and in 1390 received by grant the Duchy of Aquitaine. That such extended administration should be accompanied by the rights of coinage would only be in accordance with the usage of the time, and in his "Appendix VI" Mr. Armitage-Smith has given in detail records of the occasions on which John of Gaunt obtained or assumed these rights. These occurred on four occasions: first in 1370, as Lord of Bergerac under a grant from his brother Edward the Black Prince; secondly in 1371, on his assuming the title of King of Castille and Leon; thirdly in 1377, by special grants from Edward III to coin money in Bayonne, Guiche, and the Landes for two years; and fourthly in 1390, as Duke of Aquitaine. In each instance particulars are given in what metals the coins should be struck, and in the case of the coinage of Castille and Leon the denominations are mentioned and also the name of the master of the mint, Mestre Pelegrin de Ser, who was also appointed to superintend the money to be coined for Bayonne

Guiche, and the Landes. With such evidence it seems impossible to conceive that John of Gaunt should have omitted to put into practice one of the functions so closely identified with sovereign power. Yet the fact remains that at the present time no coins are known which can be identified as emanating from the grants which have been mentioned. None have revealed themselves in the *Anglo-Gallic Series*, nor is there any mention of them in Poey d'Avant's *Monnaies féodales de France*; nor in Heiss's *Monedas Hispano-Cristianas*.

Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Gallic, Norman, and Aquitaine Coins*, mentions, however, two pieces which he would identify with John of Gaunt. One is a small silver coin having a crowned bust on the obverse and three towers on the reverse and with the legend "Joann. Rex Castille et Legionis"; the other is a medal in gold which Ducarel considered to commemorate the marriage of John and Constance of Castille. In the first instance the coin in question was struck by Juan I, the successor of Henry of Trastamare, and the successful rival of John of Gaunt. On the reverse of this piece are the letters B S., the mark of the mint of Barcelona, but which Mr. Armitage-Smith suggests may be an error for P. S., the initials of Pelegrin de Ser. The medal referred to in the second instance is the one described in the *Medallion Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (vol i. p. 19), which has been supposed to record the marriage of Henry VII of England and Elizabeth of York. It shows on the obverse the half-length figures of a bridegroom and a bride facing, and around, the legend, "Jungimus optatas sub amico foedere dextras," and on the reverse a wreath of roses enclosing the words, "Uxor casta est rosa suavis," etc. The identification of this medal with Henry VII and Elizabeth of York is also without any evidence, as the piece is one of a series of medallions supposed to have been made by some goldsmiths at Prague towards the close of the sixteenth century. As these two attempts have failed, it is hoped that further search and study may have better results, and that we shall be able to identify at least some of the money which John of Gaunt in our opinion must have struck.

H. G.

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CORRIGENDUM.—In the note on "An Unpublished Variety of the Groat of the First Coinage of Henry VII" (see above, p. 207), on line 5 from bottom of p. 208, for "rose on lys" read "rose on sun."





## THE EARLIEST PARTHIAN COINS: A REPLY TO SIR HENRY HOWORTH.

"Words, as a Tartar's bow, shoot back upon the understanding of  
the wisest."—BACON

IN a recent paper (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 209 f.) Sir Henry Howorth has proposed to attribute to Armenia the well-known class of drachms of which a specimen (enlarged from B. M. C., *Parthia*, p. 2, No. 4) is here figured. These coins, like many others that perplex the student of Parthian numismatics, are not easily to be attributed (as I have myself elsewhere recognized) to this or that Arsacid ruler; but, in one respect, they are fortunate, for there has been, I believe, a consensus of opinion that, whatever be their precise attribution, they are at any rate the money—and seemingly the earliest money—of the Parthian monarchy. This is certainly the view expressed in the three latest and most extensive

treatises on Arsacid numismatics—in Prof. P. Gardner's well-known book; in A. Von Petrowicz's elaborate Catalogue; and in my own work on the Parthian coins in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The contention now put forward by Sir Henry Howorth is that these coins are not only not Parthian, but that they are the coinage of early Armenian kings.

A considerable part of Sir Henry's paper is concerned with a discussion of the early history of Parthia and Armenia; but this, however interesting in itself, is not, of course, relevant to the present issue, which is to determine the Parthian or Armenian origin of certain coins. So far as the historic probabilities of the case are concerned, I will admit (with Sir Henry)—at least for the sake of this argument—that there was in Armenia a race of kings of Arsacid descent who were in a position to issue money.<sup>2</sup> Such, I say, is the possibility, but the

<sup>1</sup> I may also add to those who believe in the Parthian origin of these coins the name of Col Allotte de La Fuye, the writer of two admirable articles in the *Rev Num*, 1904, p. 317 f; 1905, p. 129 f

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry's confidence in the credibility of Armenian historians may, perhaps, be justifiable, and I am not competent to discuss the matter, but there are many critics whom he does not name, who are sceptical as to what is related of the history of these early Arsacid-Armenian rulers. See Kiumbacher, *Gesch. der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 406; Baumgartner, in Pauly's *Real-Encycl*, "Armenia," and an article, easily accessible to numismatists, by Allotte de La Fuye, in *Rev. Num*, 1905, pp. 142-150.

In his quotation (p. 229) from Justin, "lib 41, Prologue," Sir Henry does not state what edition he has used. Perhaps Jeep's, of 1859, though Jeep has *subacta* instead of Sir Henry's reading *subfacta*. But in Rühl's critical edition of 1886 one finds the words in question arranged in a totally different way, and with entirely different contexts. Thus, only the first sentence of Sir Henry's quotation ("In Parthis . . . regem") occurs in Prol lib. 41; while the second sentence ("Successores . . . Mesopotamia") makes its appearance about the middle of the Prologue to lib. 42. The result is that Sir Henry's "Justin" yields an entirely different order for the Parthian kings from the text of Rühl's Justin, and unnecessary confusion is brought about (Cp. B. M. C.,

question that has here to be discussed is whether, in point of fact, there is any evidence that these kings *did* exercise the privilege of coining, and, if not, whether we can determine by whom these coins, alleged to be Armenian, were really minted.

Now, there are, I suppose, two questions which the practical numismatist is wont to ask in the case of disputed attributions. He inquires, first, where the coins under discussion are usually found, and he then asks himself if there is anything truly decisive about their types and legends. I propose to apply these crucial tests to Sir Henry's proposition, leaving to the footnotes some points which it might appear discourteous to ignore, though they seem to be rather "on the fringe" of the case.

And first as to *provenance*. It has been to me, and perhaps to others, a matter of disappointment and surprise that Sir Henry Howorth, in the course of his long paper, does not once mention this all-important topic. He leaves the reader without guidance in the matter, either from his own experience or from citations from published works. I may say, therefore, that the opinion I have myself formed—after having seen probably nearly all the numerous Parthian coins that have been brought or sent to the British Museum during the last few years—is that the general provenance of these "beardless"

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*Parthia*, p. xix, where I had already cited Gutschmid, Cauer, and Rühl as to this matter; see also Breccia in Lehmann's *Beiträge*, 1905, p. 52, note 3.)

On p. 229 Sir Henry states that Hecatompylos was, "according to Curtius, vi. 2," founded by Alexander the Great. But what Curtius, vi. 2, really says is that it was founded "by the Greeks," and that it was *already* an illustrious city when Alexander arrived there ("Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis: ibi stativa rex habuit," etc., vi. 2, ed. Vogel).

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drachms is modern Persia, its northern, perhaps, rather than its southern districts, and that some specimens have come from India.<sup>3</sup> I should not be greatly surprised to learn that a few of these drachms—mixed with Parthian coins—have been acquired in Armenia; but, as a matter of fact, I know of no such case, nor, as we have seen, does Sir Henry mention any. The provenance of these coins is, then, Persian, and presumably Parthian, and there is no evidence of Armenian origin.

When we turn to the *types* of the coins in dispute, we find that they bear on the reverse a design which has been universally allowed to be the Arsacid type *par excellence*—a beardless warrior seated, holding a bow, the typical weapon of the Parthian.<sup>4</sup> This figure is accompanied by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, and the like.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Persian and Indian provenance of the coins is also indicated by the sources of acquisition recorded in B. M. C., *Parthia*, pp. 1–4.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation given by Sir H. Howorth of the archer type is that it is “Apollo on the omphalos in an Eastern guise” (p. 244), “a Greek god” (p. 245 and p. 246). Though it is undeniable that the “naked Apollo on the omphalos” of Seleucid coins was the prototype of the “Parthian” reverses, it seems difficult to maintain that the Eastern engraver could have intended to represent *Apollo*—for, if so, why does he dress him in a coat of mail and a helmet tied with the regal diadem?—In an alternative explanation of the archer-reverse, Sir Henry admits (p. 244) that it may perhaps represent a king, deified, though his qualification that this king is “in the guise of Mithras” seems to require some proof.

<sup>5</sup> All these coins have the name ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, but there are difficulties, as Sir Henry points out (p. 231), about the various accompanying epithets, e.g. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. These difficulties, however, affect only the date and attribution to specific kings of Parthia, and there is nothing in these legends that makes them distinctive of an Armenian king.

Sir Henry insists that all these titles were copied direct from coins, and from Seleucid (not Bactrian) coins. No doubt the coins are a useful guide, but we cannot always confidently argue from them as to the date of the first regal employment of such titles, for it is known that some of them were in use, and “in the air” of the East, before they appeared on coins. Thus, Antiochus II of Syria was called “Theos.” Antiochus I on a Babylonian cylinder is called “the great and mighty” king. Antiochus III, 222–187 B.C., is called in lapidary inscriptions: Βασιλεὺς

The obverse consists of a beardless bust, presumably of a king, wearing a peaked cap or helmet, and his bust is pronounced by Sir Henry to be certainly non-Parthian, because—and this is indisputable—Parthian kings on their portrait-coins are always *bearded*. He then assigns the type to Armenia, a country—among others, be it said—where, as we know from undoubted Armenian coins, the barber's razor had no terrors for the reigning monarch. This, by itself, is hardly a convincing reason for a specific attribution to Armenia, and Sir Henry endeavours to find a distinctively Armenian feature in this obverse by pointing to the peculiar form of the head-dress. He compares it with the head-gear of certain dynasts who—if not with complete certainty—may be admitted to have been Armenian rulers. But the reader who will compare the head-dress on the "Parthian" obverse—so to call it, for distinction—with the head-dress of these Armenian dynasts (*Num Chron.*, 1905, Pl. X, 12, 13, 14), will see at once that they are by no means identical. The "Parthian" drachm displays a kind of helmet pointed at the top; the Armenian head-dress lies flat on the crown of the head, and is not peaked, but only pointed at the back of the head. This comparison, therefore, can hardly establish the Armenian character of the head on the "Parthian" drachm. And one thing, it may be added, is beyond doubt—the head-dress is not the well-known tiara of Armenian kings, which (as we learn from coins) was in use at least as early as the time of Tigranes.<sup>6</sup>

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μέγας Ἀρτίστας (see Bevan, in *J H S.*, xxi. p. 241) And in such a case of dubiety, it does not seem safe to exclude the evidence of the early appearance of these titles on Bactrian coins, though Sir Henry may be right in thinking that there was no direct Parthian imitation of Bactrian coins until the reign of Mithradates I of Parthia.

<sup>6</sup> See Babelon, *Rois de Syr*, pl. 29. Sir Henry takes to task (p 244)

But there is a simple explanation of this obverse, which, I venture to think, "leaps to the eyes," and which, I had imagined, had been generally adopted by numismatists. *The head on the obverse is merely the head of the personage who is represented at full length on the reverse.* In both cases there is the same peaked helmet tied with a diadem; the same row of curls on the forehead; and, above all, both heads are beardless.<sup>7</sup> This figure presumably represents the first King of Parthia, who had not yet adopted a beard of formal cut<sup>8</sup>—the

those numismatists who have classed Tigranes among the Seleucid kings "His coins ought clearly to be classed among the coins of Armenia." But Sir Henry has evidently forgotten that all the known coins of Tigranes were struck, not in Armenia, but in Syria (See on this matter Macdonald's careful paper in *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 193 f.)

<sup>7</sup> The figure on the reverse wears a short military cloak over a suit of armour. This costume seems to me to be indicated, though clumsily, in the case of the obverse bust

<sup>8</sup> In specifically attributing (B. M. C., *Parthia*, pp. 1-5) these beardless drachms—chiefly according to their varying legends—to several early Parthian kings, I have not suggested (as Sir Henry seems to imply, p. 237) that each head is meant to be the portrait of the king who placed it on his obverses. The obverse head, in my view, remained for many years stereotyped (like the head of Philetaerus on the Attalid coinage), till at length a real portrait—or what passed as such—of the reigning monarch (bearded) was substituted for the beardless head, which, however, continued to be represented by the beardless figure on the reverse. I may further remark that the position and the number of the words that form the legend on these beardless drachms seem to lead up—by a kind of *crescendo*—to the legends of the "bearded" drachms. A reference to the B. M. C., *Parthia*, pl. 1, where four of my six classes are figured, will show that we have first the single word ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ; then, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ; and then ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, ranged on three sides of the reverse (in pl. 1. 15, a fourth word is added). These legends, I suggest, pave the way for the legends of the "bearded" drachms, where we have first the arrangement on three sides—then an increase in the number of words, and, finally, under Mithradates II, the arrangement by which the legend forms a *square* enclosing the type.

Sir Henry is of opinion that no Parthian coins were struck previous to the accession of Mithradates (*i.e.* *circa* 171 B.C., or *circa* 160 B.C. according to Breccia), and I am glad to be in at least partial agreement with him in thinking that numismatists have usually assigned too early a date for

typical archer-hero—perhaps divinized—of the Parthian race. But, in any case, it is sufficient to remark that the Parthians tolerated this beardless personage on the reverse of all their drachms, from the earliest—which ever we consider them to be—down to the latest, which were still being coined and spent in the third century of the Christian era.

If, then, these considerations, drawn from provenance and type, are well founded, it would seem to be impossible to admit Sir Henry Howorth's proposition. For he invites us to withdraw from Parthia coins that are always found there, and to assign them to Armenia, where they are never found. And he asks us to attribute to Armenia a type—the archer represented both on obverse and reverse—which has no Armenian feature, but which, on the contrary, is distinctly characteristic of Parthia.

WARWICK WROTH.

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the beginning of Parthian coinage. I had already remarked in *B M C, Parthia* (p. xxix), that "the peculiar features of early Parthian history and culture do not necessarily require the assumption . . . that Tiridates [248 B C] struck coins from the first moment of his reign." I should not be indisposed to regard the beardless drachms with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ as the *earliest* drachm-coinage of Mithradates I, who on his "bearded" coins uses this title, most of the remaining early drachms would then be left to his immediate predecessors—perhaps only to Phriapatius and Phraates I. But whatever is the precise date of the first issue of these beardless drachms, I cannot doubt that they are Parthian, and that they *precede* the "bearded" coins.



SELECT GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH  
MUSEUM.

(See Plates XIV., XV.)

IN the present article some readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* will probably recognize, under a changed name, a paper of the kind that I have often laid before them, and which has at times, I fear, figured as a somewhat monotonous item in our numismatic bill of fare. After having published during the last seventeen years—almost an *innumerabilis annorum series*—the papers entitled, “Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum,” I am now desirous, for various reasons, to continue my publication of the Museum coins in a somewhat different form, and without confining myself, as heretofore, to the acquisitions of any single year. And I may, perhaps, be permitted to mention that I hope to be able to publish, in some form or other, an index to the complete series of “Greek Coins acquired 1887–1903,” which may be useful to scholars who may have occasion to consult descriptions scattered through many volumes of our journal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Now, as in all former publications, the descriptions written by Dr. Head for the Annual Return of the British Museum, have proved an invaluable starting-point, and I have once more to thank my colleague Mr Hill for important suggestions.

## SCIONE (MACEDONIAN CHALCIDICE).

1. *Obv.*—Young male head, r. (athlete, or Apollo?); hair short, indicated by dots.

*Rev.*— $\frac{\lessgtr}{\circ} \text{K}$  Human eye; incuse square.

*R.* Size .45. Wt. 33 grs. [Pl. XIV. 1.]  
Purchased in 1904.

2. *Obv.*—Young male head, r., similar to No. 1.

*Rev.*—Human eye; incuse square.

*R.* Size .25. Wt. 5.6 grs. [Pl. XIV. 2.]  
Purchased in 1891.

3. *Obv.*—Young male head, l., tied with taenia; projection above forehead; hair short and dotted.

*Rev.*— $\frac{\lessgtr}{\circ} \text{K}^2$  [I] Bunch of grapes; incuse square.

*R.* Size .3. Wt. 9.4 grs. [Pl. XIV. 3.]  
Purchased in 1904.

4. *Obv.*—Young male head, r., tied with taenia; projection above forehead; hair short (later style than Nos. 1–3).

*Rev.*— $\frac{\chi}{\circ} \text{K}$  Corinthian helmet, r.; incuse square.

*R.* Size .55. Wt. 42.5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 4.]  
Described B. M. C., *Macedonia*, p. 102, no. 1.

5. *Obv.*—Young male head, r., wearing taenia (fine style).

*Rev.*— $\frac{\lessgtr}{\circ} \text{K} \mid \text{O}$  Corinthian helmet, r.; incuse square.

*R.* Size .55. Wt. 34.8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 5.]  
Purchased in 1890, and described in *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 121.

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<sup>2</sup>  $\lessgtr$  slightly injured, and K incomplete, but the reading is hardly doubtful.

6. *Obv.*—Young male head, r, wearing taenia (fine style).

Η  
Ω  
Ι  
Α

*Rev.*—ΞΚΙΩ Η<sup>3</sup> Corinthian helmet, r (slightly varied from Nos. 4 and 5); behind (?); slight incuse square.

*R.* Size 5. Wt. 30·5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 6.]  
Purchased in 1905.

The first of these coins is of considerable numismatic importance. The legend clearly proves that it belongs to Scione, the town of Pallene, the western prong of the peninsula Chalcidice. A similar coin has long been known, and read, with some hesitation, by Imhoof-Blumer, as ΚΙΘ, was assigned by him to a supposed town, Cithus, in Lesbos. This attribution seemed to be favoured by the eye type (found, though in a different shape, on Lesbian coins), but the coin must certainly be transferred to Scione.<sup>4</sup>

No. 2, though uninscribed, reproduces the type of No. 1. I do not know where it was found, but it was sold to the Museum in 1891, together with several small

<sup>3</sup> The Σκιωναῖοι are named in the Athenian quota lists from 449 B C onwards. Hill, *Sources for Grk Hist.*, II. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Imh., *Mon Gr.*, p 277, no 246, describing the specimen in the French Coll. A second specimen was described in B M C, *Troas* (p 174, no 5), under the "Uncertain Mints of Lesbos." There are only traces of its inscription, but it must certainly be removed (as Dr Head has remarked to me) to Scione. Both these specimens are of base silver, which seemed to favour the Lesbian attribution. No 1, *supra*, seems to be of good metal. Dr Imhoof (*M.G.*, p 277, no 245) has also assigned to Lesbos a coin read by him ΚΙΘΙ- or ΚΙΘΙ. *Obv*—Two boars' heads; *Rev*—Incuse square. (A similar specimen, inscription obscure, is in B. M. C., *Troas*, p 173, no. 1, "Uncertain of Lesbos;" cp. nos 2-4.) Certainly the type (boars' heads) is suitable to Lesbos.

coins of Mende, in Macedonia, and two coins of early Macedonian kings.

The eye is new as a Scionian coin-type.<sup>5</sup> It appears to have been employed till about 480 (or rather later), when the helmet (see No. 4) was introduced. The helmet is found as the reverse of the two fine coins, Nos. 5 and 6, which were probably struck shortly before 421 B.C., when Scione, which had revolted from Athens (423 B.C.), was captured by the Athenians, who put its male population to death.<sup>6</sup> (No. 3, which is probably contemporary with No. 2, has a third type—perhaps only used on this small denomination—the bunch of grapes.)

The large eye, which the ancients placed on their vases, on their shields, and on the prows of their vessels, was doubtless—at least, in its original intention—prophylactic—a preservative against the ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός. Whether this is its meaning on coins, it is difficult to determine. The type, indeed, is a very rare one, and is found chiefly in the fifth century B.C., or earlier. It is not easy to recall instances of its occurrence, except on a few Lycian coins<sup>7</sup> (480–450 B.C.), and on the early

<sup>5</sup> As to the form of the eye, see Cecil Smith, B. M. C., *Vases*, III p 4, where an interesting diagram is given of the various stages in the representation of the human eye on the early red-figured vases

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Six (*Num Chron*, 1898, p 193) attributed to Scione archaic uninscribed coins with *obv* helmet, *rev*. inc sq. The difficulty of this attribution is that Scione would have used first the *helmet*, then the *eye*, and would afterwards have restored the *helmet* in place of the *eye*. This does not seem a probable sequence of types

<sup>7</sup> Hill, B. M. C., *Lycia*, p 12, no 56, cp p 17, no 79, eye? At Side, in Pamphylia (*ibid*, p 143), an eye accompanies the dolphin type (fifth century B.C.) An eye is the obverse type of a minute electrum coin of the seventh or sixth century B.C., see B. M. C., *Ionia*, p 6, no. 27. The coin of "Cithrum in Thessaly," referred to by Lafaye (after Longpérier) in D and Saglio, art. "Fascinum," at end, is really a coin of Scione, like our No 1.

billon coinage of Lesbos<sup>8</sup> (550-440 B.C.). The prophylactic interpretation does not seem very probable for a coin-type, and perhaps the eye had, at Scione, some mythological significance unknown to us. If Σκιώνη really means "the dark and gloomy,"<sup>9</sup> the *open eye*, as its badge, might be a sort of euphemistic pun.

With regard to the type of No. 1, we may remark, first, that the head *appears* to be bare: it is clearly, however, the same head that is found on Nos. 3 and 4, and also, as can hardly be doubted, on Nos. 5 and 6. All these are beardless, and (except Nos. 1 and 2?) bound with a taenia. On Nos. 3 and 4 there is a projection above the forehead, which has been called, though with little probability, the horn of Pan. It is more like the projection seen on some early representations of Greek athletes. On examining the whole series of heads, I am inclined to suggest that an athlete is represented. Such a type, though very rare, is not quite foreign to coins. Thus we have the well-known figure of a *discobolos* on early coins of Cos; and there is a young head—not unlike the Scione head—placed on a circular object on the early electrum stater (500-480 B.C.) of Cyzicus—a type explained by M. Babelon with high probability as the head of a *discobolos*.<sup>10</sup>

If the athlete theory be not accepted, we may fall back on the explanation that it is Apollo. Scione, it may be remembered, was a colony of Pellene, in Achaia, where Apollo was apparently the principal divinity.

From its style I think the head of No. 1 may be dated

<sup>8</sup> Wroth, B. M. C., *Troas*, etc., pp. 152, 153 (one eye, two eyes).

<sup>9</sup> Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

<sup>10</sup> Babelon, in *Rev. Num.*, 1903, p. 423. The coin is figured in B. M. C., *Mysia*, pl. iv.; p. 21, no. 21.

500 B.C.: it can hardly be earlier, on account of the reverse, which shows a type (not a plain incuse square) and an inscription not conspicuously archaic. Interesting as the head is, it has none of the delicacy and finish of the well-known ephebus-head found on the Acropolis in 1887.<sup>11</sup> Rather it recalls the heavier treatment of the athlete head in the Jakobsen Collection.<sup>12</sup>

The head on No. 5 is not unworthy of comparison with the heads of ephebi on the Parthenon frieze. No. 6 bears a close resemblance to the head of a youth—wearing a taenia—on a sepulchral relief found at Athens, and figured in A. H. Smith, B. M. C., *Sculpture*, i. pl. xii. 2 = No. 672.

### AENUS (THRACE).

The Museum acquired during 1904 a little series of diobols which seem worth describing, especially on account of the comparative rarity of this denomination.

#### A. Head of Hermes, l.; *circ.* 430–400 B.C.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Hermes, l., in close-fitting petasos; hair short and curly.

*Rev.*—Goat standing, l., with head turned back to lick l. fore-leg; beneath ΑΙΝΙ; incuse square.

Æ. Size .45. Wt. 16.8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 7.]

#### B. Head of Hermes, r.; *circ.* 430–400 B.C.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Hermes as on No. 1, but looking r.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝΙ Goat, l.; nearer fore-paw on branch of tree; incuse square.

Æ. Size .45. Wt. 20.5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 8.]

<sup>11</sup> Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Gr.*, i. p. 362, date *circa* 480 B.C., E. Gardner, *Handbook of Gr. Sculpt.*, p. 187 f., fig. 38

<sup>12</sup> Collignon, i. p. 361.

3 *Obv.*—Head of Hermes as No 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝΙ Goat, r., biting (?) leaf of laurel-tree ; incuse square.

℞. Size .4. Wt. 20·5 grs [Pl. XIV. 9.]

4 *Obv.*—As No. 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝΙ Goat, r. ; in front, spray of ivy (clear on the coin, though not well shown in the plate) ; incuse square.

℞. Size .45. Wt. 19 5 grs [Pl. XIV. 10.]

5. *Obv.*—As No 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝ Goat, r. ; in front, tendril ; incuse square.

℞. Size .4. Wt. 19·9 grs. [Pl. XIV. 11.]

6. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝ Goat, r. ; in front, term (*i.e.* agalma of Hermes, seen on other coins of Aenus placed in a throne) ; incuse square.

℞. Size .45. Wt. 20 grs. [Pl. XIV. 12.]

7. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝ Goat, r. ; in front, caduceus, upright ; incuse square.

℞. Size .4. Wt. 20 grs.

8. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝ Goat, r. ; in front, club ; incuse square.

℞. Size .45. Wt. 25 grs. [Pl. XIV. 13.]

9. *Obv.*—As No 2.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝΙ Goat ; nearer fore-leg raised over fly ; incuse square.

℞. Size .45. Wt. 19·7 grs. [Pl. XIV. 14.]

C. Head of Hermes, facing; *circ.* 400 B C.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Hermes to front; wears close-fitting petasos; hair flowing.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΝΙ Goat standing, r.; in front, ΕΡ; incuse square.

℞. Size .5. Wt. 20·8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 15.]

11. *Obv.*—Head of Hermes, as No 10.

*Rev.*—As No. 10, but in front, corn-grain.

℞. Size .45. Wt. 20 2 grs. [Pl. XIV. 16.]

The various symbols in front of the goat are doubtless best explained as the signets of monetary magistrates, but some are rather curious; thus the agalma on No. 6 appears as a type on other coins of Aenus. Perhaps it is the signet of an official connected with the cultus of Hermes. Some of these symbols seem also to have a close connection with the goat; so Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5. On No. 3 the goat is biting or preparing to bite the leaf of a laurel-tree; so the ram on a coin of Neandria<sup>13</sup> bites the leaf of a laurel-branch. On No. 4 the ivy-spray is intended for the goat's consumption, as may be proved from the reverse of a stater of Aenus,<sup>14</sup> where this symbol is "writ large," and consists of a child holding up an ivy-spray to the mouth of the goat—a charming device

#### APOLLONTIA PONTICA (THRACE).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo (without neck), facing, laureate.

*Rev.*—Anchor; on l., Α; on r., crayfish; in field l., Magistrate's name, ΜΑ; circular incuse.

℞ Size .45. Wt. 19·6 grs. [Pl. XIV. 17.]

<sup>13</sup> *Num Chron.*, 1896, p 93, no 11, pl vii. 8

<sup>14</sup> Formerly in the Greenwell Collection: *Num Chron.*, 1897, p 274, pl xiii 3



2. *Obv.*—Similar; top of head off the flan.

*Rev.*—As No. 1, with Magistrate's name,  $\xi\Omega$

$\mathcal{R}$ . Size .4. Wt. 19.6 grs.

3. *Obv.*—Similar; only the lower part of the face on the flan.

*Rev.*—As No. 1, with Magistrate's name,  $\Lambda\Gamma$

$\mathcal{R}$ . Size .5 Wt. 17.6 grs. [Pl. XIV. 18.]

Evidence continues to accumulate in favour of the attribution of these anchor-coins to Apollonia Pontica (*Sozopolis*), as against some town in Asia Minor.<sup>15</sup> The three coins here described were purchased at Bukarest, together with one coin of Mesembria, and two others of Apollonia Pontica, by Mr. Horace Sandars, who very kindly presented all of them to the British Museum in 1904. No. 3 is a curious freak of the mint.

### THESSALIA.

1. *Obv.*— $\text{ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ}$  Head of Nero, r., bearded, laureate.

*Rev.*— $\text{ΛΑΘΥΧΟΝ ΣΤΡΑ ΤΗΓΟΝ}$  Horse walking, r., its bridle held by a female figure, who moves r. and looks l.; she wears chiton and peplos, and holds in l. two ears of corn.

$\mathcal{A}$ . Size 1.35. [Pl. XV. 2, *rev.*]

(Cp. *Mion. Sup.*, iii. 271, 79; Leake, *N. H.*, *Europ. Gr.*, p. 103)

Purchased in 1904.

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<sup>15</sup> Cp. Tacchella, in *Rev. Num.*, 1903, p. 40.

2. *Obv.*—ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ Bust of Eirene, r., draped; hair long and flowing; whole in wreath.

*Rev.*—ΑΑΘΥΧΟ V ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ ΟΥ Horse walking, l., its bridle held by a female figure (represented, apparently, as on No. 1) standing, before horse, facing the spectator.

Æ. Size 1·3. [Pl. XV. 1.]

Purchased in 1905.

The female figure on Nos. 1 and 2 is, as I would suggest, a personification of Thessaly. She seems to hold ears of corn, significant of the fertility of the country, which continued to export grain as late as the fourth century of our era.<sup>16</sup> The horse is a still more obvious emblem of the country, and if these coins were struck at Larissa, where the Thessalians still held their separate assembly, it would be specially appropriate.

The types of both coins, taken in conjunction, are evidently intended to commemorate a period of peace and prosperity under the golden reign of Nero.

#### LARISSA (THESSALY).

*Obv.*—Horse standing, r., tethered by his bridle to a ring; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Α Α Nymph Larissa, wearing long chiton girdled at waist; hair tied in bunch behind; she is running r., bouncing a ball with her left hand; incuse square.

Æ. Size ·45. Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. XIV. 19.]

Purchased in 1904.

One of the earlier obols—480–450 B.C. The same

<sup>16</sup> Mommsen, *Provinces*, bk. 8, ch. 7; vol. i. p. 298, Eng trans

nymph is seen on later coins of Larissa, running and playing at ball (*e.g.* B. M. C., *Thessaly*, p. 26, no. 24 ; p. 28, no. 41). In a former publication in the *Num. Chron.*,<sup>17</sup> I have ventured, on the evidence of these obols, to construct a little story of this lady's movements on a certain day in a year of the fifth century B.C.

### ELIS.

The bronze coins figured in Pl. XV. 3, 4 belong to a rare class, which has apparently only come to light in recent years. The type is not described in Prof. P. Gardner's well-known monograph on Elis.<sup>18</sup> In 1898 Mr. Earle Fox described two specimens obtained for his collection;<sup>19</sup> one was purchased for the British Museum in 1899, and last year the Museum acquired twelve varieties, which, from their condition and patina, have the appearance of having formed part of a hoard. The description of these pieces (sizes .9-1.15) is as follows:—

#### A. Head r.

*Obv.*—Head of Hera, r.; hair gathered up on crown of head and falling in tresses behind; wears stephanos, with floral ornamentation; circular ear-ring and necklace.

*Rev.*—F A Eagle, with wings closed, standing, r., on fulmen.

(The reverses are slightly concave.)

<sup>17</sup> 1902, p. 319.

<sup>18</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1879, p. 221 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 292 Should not the name, there read as ΙΑ on rev, be corrected to Μ on the B. M. C. coins?

1.	In field r of rev.;	Α	
2.	" "	Α	
3.	" "	Μ	(acquired in 1899).
4.	" "	Μ	
5.	" "	Μ (F Α)	
6.	" "	Μ	
7.	" "	Υ	[Pl. XV. 3.]
8.	" "	ΞΕ (F Α)	
9.	" "	ΞΕΝ (F Α)	
10	" "	ΞΕΝ (FA, small).	[Pl. XV. 4.]

## B. Head l.

Types and inscriptions as Class A, but head to *left*.

11.	In field r. of rev.;	Μ	: slightly concave.
12.	" "	Υ	" "
13.	" "	ΞΕ (FA)	" "

Class B was probably issued concurrently with A, as the same magistrates are found in both series. The *obv.* head is evidently suggested by the Hera-head on a silver stater of Elis, assigned by Gardner to 312–271 B.C.;<sup>20</sup> but some doubt may be felt as to whether the bronze coins are contemporary with the stater, on account of the careless and sketchy way in which, on the bronze, the head is treated. They may, therefore, belong to the *later* part of the third century (after *circ.* 271 B.C.) or to the early part of the second century. The appearance of magistrates' names is a feature of these coins; the names of this kind already published occur—according to Gardner<sup>21</sup>—from 312–271 B.C., and on later coins.

<sup>20</sup> *Num Chron*, 1879, p 259, pl xv. 9; B. M. C., *Peloponnesus*, p 71, no 113

<sup>21</sup> B. M. C., *Peloponnesus*, p 71, no 116, etc.

## ATARNEUS (MYSIA).

*Obv.*—Head of Apollo, r., laureate; hair short and rolled.

*Rev.*—ATAP<sup>22</sup> Serpent coiled with head erect, r.; incuse.

R. Size .6. Wt. 44.7 grs. [Pl. XIV. 20.]

Purchased in 1904.

No silver coin of Atarneus has, hitherto, been published. The *obv.* head is an Apollo of pleasing, if slightly effeminate, style, and recalls the fine Apollo heads on the silver staters of Abydos,<sup>23</sup> Apollonia Pontica,<sup>24</sup> and Chalcidice.”<sup>25</sup> The coin may be dated, on grounds of style, a few years before or after 400 B.C.

Between the years 410 and 398-7 Atarneus<sup>26</sup> was in the possession of certain exiles from Chios, who made it their head-quarters for plundering expeditions. In 398-7 it was taken, after an eight-months' siege, by Derkyllidas the Spartan, who placed a garrison there under Drakon of Pellene, a man who gained some notoriety for his effective ravaging of the Mysian plains. About 360 Atarneus was ruled by the tyrant Eubulos; ten years later it was governed by another tyrant, Hermias, the friend of Aristotle. In 345 it was in the hands of the Persians.

Dr. Head<sup>27</sup> has assigned the coin to the time of Drakon,

<sup>22</sup> Beneath inscr. are some marks which may be part of another inscr. Sir H. Weber has a fine specimen of this coin.

<sup>23</sup> B. M. C., *Troas*, pl. i. 8.

<sup>24</sup> B. M. C., *Mysia*, pl. n. 10, “Apollonia ad Rhyndacum:” hair short and rolled.

<sup>25</sup> P. Gardner, *Types*, pl. vii 13

<sup>26</sup> On the history of Atarneus, Lolling in *Ath. Mittheil.*, iv. p. 1 f.; Burchner in Pauly, *Encycl.*, “Atarneus;” Judeich, *Kleinasi Stud.*, p. 349, etc.

<sup>27</sup> British Museum *Return*, 1905. p. 89.

*circ.* 397 B.C., and has made the very ingenious and attractive suggestion that the coiled serpent (δράκων) on the reverse is the badge of this redoubtable governor. Certainly the coin may, for reasons of style, be well assigned to his period, but some difficulties occur, to my mind at least, as to the correctness of this explanation of the reverse.<sup>28</sup> It is quite possible—though not otherwise ascertained—that Drakon used this punning type as his signet, but if he placed it so conspicuously on the coin he must have done so as *tyrant* of Atarneus,<sup>29</sup>—a fact of which Xenophon and Isocrates, who tell us what we know of him, furnish no hint. Moreover, we find this serpent, though abandoned as a type, figuring as a symbol on the coins of Atarneus so late as the third and the first century B.C.<sup>30</sup> If, then, the serpent is the badge of Drakon, he must have made no ordinary impression on the annals of Atarneus, for between the years 397 and the year (*circ.*) 279 much had happened. The city had twice been governed by tyrants, had fallen under the sway of Persia, and very likely had experienced other vicissitudes now unknown to us.

I should judge that the safest explanation of the serpent type is to suppose—on the lines recently suggested in Mr. Macdonald's illuminating book on coin-types—that it is the badge or town arms of Atarneus. If we had coins of the fourth century (later than *circ.* 397 B.C.) we should probably find the serpent figuring

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<sup>28</sup> I do not dispute the possibility of the issue of this coin in the time of Drakon, but it may equally well belong to the Chian period, 410–398 B.C.

<sup>29</sup> It can hardly be his symbol as a monetary magistrate, as in the case of the continuous series of Abdera and Cyzicus, where the magistrates' symbols have the importance of "types."

<sup>30</sup> B. M. C., *Mysia*, "Atarneus."

on them as a type ; even in the third and first centuries, when, for some reason, a new type (half-horse) was introduced on the reverse, the serpent still figures, almost constantly, as a subsidiary device.

This serpent-badge—if we do not accept it as the personal badge of Drakon—may, perhaps, be most easily accounted for as the serpent of Apollo. Less probably it may be a symbol of Asklepios, as it is on the second-century coins of the Pergamene kings. And there is yet a third possible explanation, that it may be connected in some way with Atarneus, the mythic King of Mysia, whose temple in the city that bore his name was evidently of primary importance in the middle of the fourth century B.C., and in all probability much earlier.<sup>81</sup>

#### CLAZOMENAE (IONIA).

*Obv* —KAA Fore-part of winged boar, flying, r.

*Rev.*—Ram's head, r. within incuse square.

Æ. Size .55. Wt. 54.7 grs. [Pl. XIV. 21.]  
Purchased in 1904.

This drachm is interesting from its inscription and its combination of types. The inscription is important as confirming the attribution to Clazomenae of the series of silver coins with the fore-part of a winged boar that have been usually assigned to this city, although not inscribed with its name.<sup>82</sup>

The types—winged boar and ram's head—unite on the same coin two types often found at Clazomenae.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Hist. Inscr*, p. 265, no. 138

<sup>82</sup> Head, B. M. C., *Ionia*, "Clazomenae," no. 3 ff.

<sup>83</sup> The Æ coins with *obv.* fore-part of winged boar, *rev* Gorgoneion in

The sequence of the Clazomenian coin-types is somewhat puzzling. On the earliest silver coins of the fifth century (early) we find the half winged boar; then on our drachm, which may be dated B.C. 450-400, the ram's head makes its appearance. But if we accept the attribution of M. Babelon,<sup>84</sup> the ram had already appeared at Clazomenae on electrum coins of the sixth century. The earliest type of the city would thus be the ram.

During the fourth century, from *circ.* 387 B.C., the principal types are Apolline—the beautiful facing head and the swan of the chief divinity of the city. The boar has now disappeared, but the ram is found on bronze coins throughout this century. After *circ.* 300 B.C. the boar type again appears, and the ram is still employed, each being occasionally found on the coins of Imperial times. This use of the boar and ram types is curious, and, if more were known of the antiquities of Clazomenae, we might at least be able to discern which was regarded as the badge of the city.<sup>85</sup>

incuse square (B. M. C., *Ionia*, "Clazomenae," nos. 15, 16), must belong to about the same period as our coin. I do not positively dispute the attribution of these to Clazomenae, but the absence of inscription and the introduction of a new and short-lived type (the Goigoneion is, however, found on a coin struck after 300 B.C.) suggest that this attribution needs further confirmation.

<sup>84</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1895, p. 27 f. Babelon (*loc.*) refuses to admit as Clazomenian the electrum with boar types in B. M. C., *Ionia*, p. 17, nos. 1, 2. Dr. Head himself remarks that the attribution to Clazomenae is doubtful.

<sup>85</sup> Leake (*Num. Hell.*, As. Gr., p. 43) cites in explanation of the boar type, Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, 12. 38. σὺν γενέσθαι πτηνῶν, ἥπερ οὖν ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν χώραν τοῖς Κλαζομενίοις, κ.τ.λ.



## MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM (IONIA).

*Obv.*—Bust of Artemis Leukophryene, r., wearing stephane ;  
at her shoulder bow and quiver ; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΜΑΓ ΝΗΤΩ[Ν] Horseman (Leukippos<sup>2</sup>) in helmet,  
ΔΙΟ ΝΥΣΙΟΣ cuirass, and chlamys, riding on  
ΔΗΜ ΗΤΡΙΟΥ prancing horse, r. ; in r. couched  
spear.

Æ. Thick fabric. Size .75. [Pl. XV. 5.]

(Struck after *circ.* 190 B.C. Cp. B. M. C., *Ionia*,  
p. 162, no. 39 ; Imhoof, *Kleinas. M.*, p. 516, on  
the types ; another at Berlin ; Kern, *Inscr. v.*  
*Magn.*, p. xxii.) Purchased in 1904.

## NYSA (LYDIA).

*Obv.*—ΑΥΚΑΛΕ (Æ?)ΑΝΔΡΟΚΑΙ CΑ Ρ Bust of Severus  
Alexander, r., in paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙΓΡΑΥΡΑΜΜΙ Α ΝΟΝΝΥΚΑΕΩ Ν The Tyche of  
of Nysa standing to front, looking r. ; wears  
turreted head-dress, chiton, and peplos ; in r,  
bunch of grapes ; l. hand rests at her side ; in  
field close to her l. arm, a figure of Mên, looking  
l., wearing Phrygian cap, short chiton, cloak, and  
boots, and with crescent on shoulders ; in his r.,  
phiale ; l. hand on spear.

Æ. Size 1.25. [Pl. XV. 6, *rev.*]

Purchased in 1904.

The *grammateus* Aurelius Ammianus is an addition to  
the list compiled by Head for B. M. C., *Lydia*, p. lxxxi.  
The grapes held by the goddess indicate the Dionysiac  
interests of the city, while Mên—who is often seen on  
the coins—appears here, in close proximity to the god-  
dess, as the representative divinity of Nysa. In the  
same capacity Mên appears on an alliance coin of Nysa  
with Ephesus.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> B. M. C., *Lydia*, p. lxxxiii.

CESTRUS (CILICIA).

*Obv.*—Head of Emperor (apparently Antoninus Pius), r., laureate; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΚΕΣΤΡΗΝΩΝ Star within crescent; border of dots.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. XV. 7.]

(Presented by Mr. F. W. Hasluck, in 1904. Another specimen of this rare coin was published with comments by M. Dieudonné, in *Rev. Num.*, 1902, p. 82. On Cestrus, see also Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. M.*, p. 457 f., and Hill, B. M. C., *Lycaonia*, etc., p. xxxviii.)

WARWICK WROTH.

## XVI.

### ROMAN COIN-MOULDS FROM EGYPT.

IN the course of the excavations directed by Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt among the rubbish-mounds of Behnesa, during the early part of the year 1903, a deposit of coin-moulds was found, the impressions upon which were of types of Maximinus Daza, Licinius, and Constantinus I. These moulds are of the same general type as those described and figured by Babelon (*Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, cols. 958-961), appearing as round disks of clay, which bear, as a rule on each side, an impression of a coin, and have at one edge a triangular cut to allow the pouring in of metal. The greater part of the disks were found broken apart; but one lot of four were still stuck together; and, from examination of these, it was clear that the method of their preparation had not been, as in the cases quoted by Babelon, by obtaining an imprint directly from a coin upon a soft clay disk and subsequently baking it to form one side of the mould. The process must have been a *cire perdue* one as follows: casts of coins were taken in wax, and these casts were then enveloped in a cylinder of soft clay; a triangular cut was made along the cylinder down to the wax, and the wax was then melted out and the cylinder baked. Traces of wax could be discerned on the surface of several of the disks. The majority of the

moulds had evidently been used, and had doubtless been thrown away on the rubbish-heap where they were found after they had been broken apart from the casts taken in them: the lot found together apparently had missed receiving their due share of the molten metal, as one of the moulds had within it a few drops of bronze.








There were in all 105 pieces, only one of which was entirely defaced: 21 were from the ends of cylinders, and only bore one impression, the other face of the disk being rough; of these 16 had reverse types, and 5 obverse types: 2 disks had obverse types on both faces, and 3 reverse types similarly: the remainder had upon one face an obverse type, on the other a reverse type. In the following list, the pieces have been arranged by the reverse types, a reference being added in each case to the impression on the other face, which, however, has of course only a fortuitous relation to the former. As all but one of the reverse types are from mints whose issues during the Constantinian period have been classified in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by M. Maurice (Antioch, 1899, p. 208; Alexandria, 1902, p. 92; Nicomedia, 1903, p. 211), his division of issues and series has been adopted. The moulds were for *folles*.

### OBVERSE TYPES.

		Specimens.
(1) GALVALMAXIMINVSNOBCAES	Head r., laureate	1
(2) IMPCGALVALMAXIMINVS PFAVG	” ”	47
(3) IMPCLICLICINNIVS PFAVG	” ”	7
(4) IMPCVALLICINLICINIVS PFAVG	” ”	10
(5) FLVALERCONSTANTINVS PFAVG	” ”	16
(6) IMPCFLVALCONSTANTINVS PFAVG	” ”	4

## REVERSE TYPES

ALEXANDRIA				
Issue.	Series	Type.	Mint-mark	Other face. Specimens.
III	3	GENIO AVGVSTI    Genius } with head of Sarapis . }	$\frac{\text{C} \mid \Gamma}{\text{X} \mid \text{ALE}}$	<i>Obv</i> (2)    2
			,	Defaced    1
				Nil    1
III.	4	GENI O AVGVSTI    As last .	$\frac{\text{X} \mid \text{A}}{\text{ALE}}$	<i>Obv</i> (2)    7
				<i>Rev</i> $\frac{\text{X} \mid \text{B}}{\text{ALE}}$ 1
			$\frac{\text{X} \mid \text{B}}{\text{ALE}}$	<i>Obv</i> (2)    2
				<i>Obv</i> (5)    2
				Same <i>rev.</i> 1
				<i>Rev.</i> $\frac{\text{X} \mid \text{A}}{\text{ALE}}$ 1
				Nil    1
			$\frac{\text{X} \mid \Gamma}{\text{ALE}}$	<i>Obv</i> (1)    1
				<i>Obv.</i> (2)    2
				<i>Obv.</i> (3)    1
			$\frac{\text{X} \mid (?)}{\text{ALE}}$	<i>Obv.</i> (5)    2
IV.	1	GENIO AVGVSTI    As last .	$\frac{\begin{smallmatrix} * \\ \text{N} \\ \text{leaf} \end{smallmatrix} \mid \text{A}}{\text{ALE} \mid \text{Q}}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2)    1
				Nil    1
			$\frac{\begin{smallmatrix} * \\ \text{N} \\ \text{leaf} \end{smallmatrix} \mid \text{B}}{\text{ALE} \mid \text{Q}}$	<i>Obv</i> (5)    1
				Nil    1
			$\frac{\begin{smallmatrix} * \\ \text{N} \\ \text{leaf} \end{smallmatrix} \mid \Gamma}{\text{ALE} \mid \text{Q}}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2)    2

Issue	Series.	Type.	Mint-mark	Other face.	Specimens
IV.	2	GENIO AVGVSTI As last .		<i>Obv</i> (3)	1
				<i>Obv</i> (5)	1
				<i>Obv</i> (5)	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (2)	1
				Defaced	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (2)	1
				Defaced	2
				Nil	1
				<i>Obv</i> (2)	6
				<i>Obv</i> (3)	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (5)	1
				Defaced	1
				Nil	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (2)	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (5)	2
				Nil	1
				<i>Obv</i> (2)	10
				<i>Obv</i> (3)	2
				<i>Obv</i> (5)	4
				Defaced	1
				Nil	1
				<i>Obv.</i> (2)	1

Issue	Series	Type	Mint-mark	Other face.	Specimens
V	3	IOVICON SERVATORI Jupiter with Victory; eagle in front . . . . }	$\frac{N   B}{ALE}$ $\frac{N   H}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2) <i>Obv.</i> (5)	1 1
VI	2	IOVICONSER VATORIAVGG Jupiter as last; eagle with wreath in beak . . }	$\frac{K   \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ X \\ A \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$ $\frac{K   \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ X \\ B \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2) <i>Obv.</i> (4)	1 2
				<i>Obv.</i> (6) Same <i>rev</i>	1 1
			$\frac{K   \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ X \\ (?) \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (4)	2
(?) VI	(?) 2	As last . . . . .	$\frac{K   \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ A \\ X \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (4)	1
				Nil	1
			$\frac{K   \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ B \\ X \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (3)	1
		IOVICONSE RVATORIAVGG As last . . . . }	do	<i>Obv.</i> (4)	4
(?)	(?)	IOVICONSER VATORIAVGG As last . . . . }	$\frac{  \begin{smallmatrix} Q \\ B \\ Z \end{smallmatrix}}{ALE}$	<i>Obv.</i> (6)	2
ANTIOCH.					
IV.		SOLIIN VICTO Sol, with head of Sarapis . . }	$\frac{I   *}{ANT}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2)	1
		HERCVLI VICTORI Her- cules leaning on club . }	$\frac{\Delta  }{ANT}$	<i>Obv.</i> (4)	1

Issue.	Series.	Type.	Mint-mark.	Other face.	Specimens.
V.		IOVICON SERVATORI } Jupiter with Victory . }	$\frac{*   Z}{ANT}$	<i>Obv.</i> (2)	2
		GENIO AVGVSTI Genius } with head of Apollo . }	$\frac{*   H}{ANT}$	<i>Obv.</i> (6)	1
		NICOMEDIA			
III	2	GENIOA VGVSTI Genius, } holding patera over eagle }	$\frac{  A}{SMN}$	<i>Obv.</i> (5)	1
			$\frac{  \Delta}{S[MN]}$	Nil	1
III	3	HERCVLI VICTORI Her- } cules leaning on club . }	$\frac{\Gamma  }{SMN}$	Nil	1
		CYZICUS			
		GENIOAV GV STI [ ] } Genius holding patera . }	$\frac{  \epsilon}{[S]MK\Gamma}$	<i>Obv.</i> (3)	1

The moulds belong to two distinct groups, easily separated by the clay of which they are made, which is in one group reddish, in the other grey. The former group includes all the impressions of reverse types of issues III, IV, and V of Alexandria, and all those of obverse types (1) and (2) of Maximinus, (3) of Licinius, and (5) of Constantinus, with the exception of one example of type (2) of Maximinus: also one reverse type of issue IV and one of V of Antioch, two of issue III series 2 of Nicomedia, and the one example of Cyzicus. The other group has all the impressions of reverse types of issue VI of Alexandria, and of obverse



types (4) of Licinius and (6) of Constantinus, with the one example of type (2) of Maximinus above noted; also one reverse type of issue IV and one of issue V of Antioch, and one of issue III series 3 of Nicomedia. The groups can thus be dated with fair certainty by the aid of M. Maurice's classification: the first contains 25 reverse types of the Alexandrian issue III, struck in the latter part of 311; 48 of issue IV, struck in 312 and the first half of 313; and two of issue V, struck from July, 313, to October, 314; reverse types of the issues III and IV of Antioch, struck respectively in 309 and 310—May, 311; and reverse types of issue III of Nicomedia, struck from May, 311, to the end of 312; also obverse types belonging to the same period, with one of Maximinus as Caesar, which must have been struck before May, 309. The moulds of this group must therefore have been prepared during the period of issue V, and probably soon after its commencement, before many coins of this issue had got into circulation; that is, in the autumn of 313. The second group contains only reverse types, to the number of 16, of issue VI of Alexandria, which was struck from October, 314, to March, 317; with reverse types of Antioch and Nicomedia of the same periods as the previous group; and obverse types belonging to this issue, with one exception of an earlier coin of Maximinus. These moulds were presumably made when issue VI had been in circulation for some time, and the coins of earlier issues were showing signs of wear, and thus becoming less suitable for use as models: the date may be in 316. An additional reason for preferring the coins of the new series to earlier ones in this group may be found in the reduction of weight which had taken place in the official issues, as it was

obviously to the advantage of the copyists to adopt the smaller size in their moulds.

The circumstances of this find do not, unfortunately, throw any light on the question whether these moulds were made by forgers working for their private profit, or, as supposed possible by Babelon (*op. cit.*, col. 963), were used by officials under the tacit sanction of the Government. Probably there is little, if any, distinction to be made between the two alternatives: the average Roman provincial officer of the fourth century was quite capable of forging coins and using his position to screen himself.

It is interesting to note how small a proportion of the moulds are taken from coins of other mints than Alexandria. No doubt the bulk of the specimens from external mints which arrived in Egypt in the course of trade were, by the time they reached Oxyrhynchus, considerably worn, and therefore, as noted above, not suitable for the moulder's use. And the coins of Antioch and Nicomedia actually represented are all of earlier issues than the Alexandrian types with which they are associated: in the case of Antioch, the examples were apparently from four to seven years old when the moulds were made, in the case of Nicomedia about two to four years old. From so small a number of specimens, conclusions are hazardous: but this evidence seems to suggest that the passage of current coin from Nicomedia to Egypt was more rapid than from Antioch; and this may be explained by the fact that the Nicomedian coins would probably come direct from Constantinople to Alexandria by sea, while the Antiochene ones would pass from hand to hand overland through Syria. It would be profitable if further evidence could be collected in this matter.

The excavations of Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt in 1905 produced a further collection of similar moulds, which offer the same general characteristics. The method of preparation, however, seems to have been slightly different from that described above: there is nothing to suggest the use of wax, but impressions from coins seem to have been taken on each side of a disk of stiff clay, the edge of which was then bent over to form a kind of collar on one side; the disk was next baked, and placed in position in a pile of similar disks, which were wrapped round with clay and again baked, after a cut had been made down the side of the clay envelope reaching to the spaces between the disks. Moulds made in this manner naturally did not fit exactly, as could be tested in one or two instances where the breakages in the envelope enabled the disks to be arranged in the position in which they had been used; but they were easier to manufacture than those made with wax, and were probably more frequently employed, as a fair number of cast coins have been found at Behnesa, and their appearance in most instances suggests that their forgers had followed this process rather than the use of wax, so far as can be judged from the ragged and spreading edges and the flaws in the faces of the coins, which are excrescences such as would be produced by a touch on a clay impression, not hollows such as would result from a mishap with a wax model.

In this deposit there were 48 pieces, for the most part in excellent preservation. Owing to this, and as the impressions on the clay had been made from coins which showed no traces of wear, it was possible to identify the number of instances in which the moulder had used a particular coin; and the most convenient method of

classification will be to catalogue the moulds according to the coin originals, giving obverse and reverse types separately. As the reverse types are all of the Alexandrian mint, the exergual legend, ALE, is omitted in the description.

## OBVERSES.

IMPCGALVALMAXIMIANVSPFAVG Head r., laur. 6 coins. A (3 impressions), B (3), C (3), D (7), E (1), F (2).

GALVALMAXIMINVSNOBCAES Head r., laur. 6 coins G (3), H (1), I (2), J (4), K (2), L (1).

IMPCGALVALMAXIMINVSPFAVG Head r., laur. 2 coins. M (5), N (1).

GALVAL ERIA AVG Bust r., with stephane. 2 coins. O (2), P (2).

IMPCVALLICICINIVSPFAVG Head r., laur. 2 coins Q (2), R (2).

## REVERSES.

GENIOIMP ERATORIS	In field K	A P	4 coins.	$\alpha$ (3), $\beta$ (5), $\gamma$ (3), $\delta$ (1).
"	" - "	K B P	1 coin.	$\epsilon$ (2).
"	"	K $\Delta$ P	1 coin.	$\zeta$ (1).
"	"	P B K	1 coin.	$\eta$ (1)
"	"	X B K	1 coin.	$\theta$ (1).
GENIOCA ESARIS	In field K	B P	1 coin.	$\iota$ (2).
"	"	K $\Gamma$ P	1 coin.	$\kappa$ (3).
"	"	K $\epsilon$ P	1 coin.	$\lambda$ (3).
"	"	K S P	1 coin.	$\mu$ (4)
"	"	K [ ]	1 coin	$\nu$ (1).
VENER IV ICTRICI	In field	P A	R 1 coin	$\xi$ (3).
VENERIV ICTRICI	"	P B	R 1 coin.	$\omicron$ (3)
VIRTVSE X ERCITVS	"	K $\Gamma$ P	1 coin	$\pi$ (1).
VIRTVSEX ERCITVS	"	K S P	1 coin.	$\rho$ (1).

The impressions on the disks were associated as follows:—

$A + \xi$   $A + M$   $A + \lambda$   $B + \xi$   $B + M$   $B + \mu$   $C + \beta$   $C + J$   $C + \iota$   
 $D + \beta(2)$   $D + F$   $D + M$   $D + \eta$   $E + R$   $F + \epsilon$   $G + o$   $H + O$   $I + P$   
 $I + \mu$   $J + M$   $J + \beta$   $K + \alpha$   $K + \kappa$   $L + \delta$   $M + \xi$   $N + \gamma$   $O + R$   $P + \epsilon$ .  
 $\alpha + \kappa$   $\alpha + \mu$   $\beta + o$   $\delta + \lambda$   $\iota + \pi$   $\lambda + \mu$   $\nu + o$ . The types appearing with a blank at the other side of the disk are  $D(2) \cdot G(2) : J \cdot Q(2)$ .  $\gamma(2) : \zeta : \kappa \cdot \rho$ .

It will be seen from the foregoing lists that the impressions on the disks were made haphazard, without any regular alternation of obverse and reverse types; and, as the disks would probably be put together without any attempt to place the impressions according to the coins from which they were taken, "mules" of different issues might easily result.

In point of date, this group of moulds is somewhat earlier than the two found in 1903. The types belong to the second issue according to Maurice's classification, and about half of them (obverse types G—L, and reverse types  $\eta$  and  $\iota$ — $\rho$ ) certainly to the first part of the issue, whilst only two coins (obverse types M and N) belong certainly to the second part, which began in May, 309. The moulds were, therefore, probably made about the end of 309.

It is noteworthy that there are not in this lot any impressions from coins struck elsewhere than at Alexandria, in which it differs from the two collections described previously of a few years later in date. This agrees with the fact which I have noticed, that comparatively few coins from outside mints are found in Egypt till the reign of Constantine. This may be explained by supposing that the Egyptians had been used for so long to their own currency that, when it was

abolished by the monetary reform of Diocletian, they still looked to their local mint to supply them; or it may be due to movements in the Empire. I shall hope to return to this point at some future date.

The extent to which forgery of coins must have been practised at Oxyrhynchus in the first two decades of the fourth century may be judged from the proportion of cast coins among those found in the course of the excavations and belonging to this period, which is one in five.

J. G. MILNE.

## XVII.

### A FIND OF COINS OF STEPHEN AND HENRY II AT AWBRIDGE, NEAR ROMSEY.

ABOUT three years ago a farmhouse garden was being enlarged in the parish of Awbridge, near Romsey, Hampshire, and in the removal of a laurel-hedge there were discovered, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the surface, all close together as if they had been in a bag which had rotted, some silver coins, about 180 in number. The finder thought little of his discovery, and from time to time disposed of about 50 of the coins to his friends and acquaintances at the price of 1s. to 6d. each, selecting for that purpose the better-preserved specimens. The find having been mentioned to me a few weeks ago by Mr. G. D. Dietz, of Braishfield Lodge, Romsey, the coins were sent through him for examination. They proved to be pennies of Stephen and Henry II, numbering in all 138, viz. 34 of the former and 104 of the latter. The coins were mostly in poor condition, partly from oxidation and partly from wear, so much so that there was scarcely a well-preserved specimen amongst the pieces of Stephen, whilst of those of Henry II on 14 coins the names of the mints were not legible, and on 37 the moneyers' names as well as those of the mints were entirely obliterated.

A description of the coins is appended—

## STEPHEN.

HAWKINS, No. 268.

*Obv.*—Bust of King, three-quarters to left; sceptre in right hand.*Rev.*—Double cross pommée, with annulet in centre; within circle (or quatrefoil) fleured internally.

## CANTERBURY.

<i>Obverse</i>				<i>Reverse.</i>			
✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	RODBERD · ON · CÆN	.	1
"	"	.	.	✠	RODBERT · ON · CÆN	.	2
"	"	.	.	✠	ROGIER · ON · CANTER	.	2
"	"	.	.	.	. . . CANT	.	1

## LEWES.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	hV[NFR]EI ON · LEV	.	1
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## LONDON.

[✠	STIEF]NE	.	.	✠	ALISANDE[R · ON · LV]	.	1
✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	DEREMAN · ON : LV	.	1
"	"	.	.	✠	[TIERR]EI : ON · [LV]ND	.	1
"	"	.	.	.	. . . ON : LVN	.	1
"	"	.	.	.	. . . ON : LVND	.	1

## SALISBURY.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	STAN[DIN]G : ON · SÆL	.	1
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## WARWICK(?)

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	STAN . . . ER (?)	.	1
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## WINCHESTER

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	✠	hVE : ON : PINCEST	.	1
"	"	.	.	✠	PILLEM : ON · PINT.	.	3

## YORK.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	N : EVER	.	1
"	"	.	.	.	EVE	.	1



## STEPHEN.

HAWKINS, No. 268.

*Obv.*—Bust of King, three-quarters to left; sceptre in right hand.*Rev.*—Double cross pommée, with annulet in centre; within circle (or quatrefoil) fleured internally.

## CANTERBURY.

<i>Obverse.</i>					<i>Reverse.</i>				
✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	RODBERD · ON · CÆN	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	✠	RODBERT · ON · CÆN	.	2	
"	"	.	.	.	✠	ROGIER · ON · CANTER	.	2	
"	"	.	.	.	.	. . . CANT	.	1	

## LEWES.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	hV[NFR]EI · ON : LEV	.	1	
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## LONDON

[✠	STIEF]NE	.	.	.	✠	ALISANDE[R · ON · LV]	.	1	
✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	DEREMAN · ON : LV	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	✠	[TIERR]EI : ON : [LV]ND	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	.	. . . ON · LVN	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	.	. . . ON : LVND	.	1	

## SALISBURY.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	STAN[DIN]G · ON SÆL	.	1	
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## WARWICK(?)

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	STAN . . . . ER (?)	.	1	
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## WINCHESTER.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	✠	hVE · ON : PINCEST	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	✠	PILLEM · ON : PINT.	.	3	

## YORK.

✠	STIEFNE	.	.	.	.	N : EVER	.	1	
"	"	.	.	.	.	EVE	.	1	

## UNCERTAIN MINTS.

With moneyers' names, ELLMÆN, SIM . . . . .	PÆN, and	
PÆLTIER . . . . .		4
With moneyers' and mint-names effaced . . . . .		6

## HAWKINS, No. 268, VAR.

*Obv.*—Head facing, crowned; sceptre on his left.

*Rev.*—Double cross pommée, with annulet in centre; within quatrefoil fleured internally.

## HUNTINGDON(?)

. . ST . . . . EX . . . .	†IM . . . .	ON · hVN . .	1
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## HAWKINS, No. 270, VAR.

*Obv.*—Bust of King to right, crowned; sceptre in right hand.

*Rev.*—Double cross moline, with annulet at each end and in centre; the tressures fleured internally.

## SOUTHAMPTON(?).

✠STIEFNE RE . . . .	✠SANSON · OHANT . .	3
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## HENRY II.

## HAWKINS, No. 285.

*Obv.*—Bust of King, nearly full face, crowned; sceptre in right hand.

*Rev.*—Large cross pattée, with small one in each angle.

## BRISTOL.

<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>	
✠HENRI REX ANGL . . . .		✠ELAF · ON · BRISTOL . .	1
” ” ” . . . .		✠RAVL · O[N · BRIST]OLE . .	1

## BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

✠HENRI REX ANGL . . . .		✠PILEM : ON : [SC]EDM . .	1
✠HENRI REX ANGL . . . .		✠WILLEM · SC : ON : ED . .	1
✠HENRI : R : AN . . . .		✠PILLELM : ON : 3EDM . .	4

## CANTERBURY.

✠ hENRI REX AN . . .	✠ GOLDhAVOC · ON : CAN[NT] . . .	1
" " " . . .	✠ GOLDhAVE ON . . .	1
✠ hENRI R A . . .	✠ RICHARD · ON : CA . . .	1
" " . . .	" " " CAN . . .	1
✠ hENRI · R . . .	" " " " . . .	2
✠ hENRI : REX ANGL . . .	" " " CANT . . .	2
" " " . . .	✠ RO[GIER : O]N · CA . . .	1
✠ hENRI · R . . .	✠ ROGIER · ON : CAN . . .	1
✠ hENRI · R · A . . .	" " CANT . . .	1

## CARLISLE

✠ hENRI · R . . .	ON · CARD . . .	1
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## EXETER

. . . . . ANGL . . .	. . . . . S . . . ON · EX . . .	1
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## HEREFORD.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . .	✠ RODBERT ON hereford . . .	1
" " " . . .	✠ STE . . hereford · . .	1
" " " . . .	✠ STE . . ON · hereford . . .	1
" " " . . .	✠ WILLIAM · ON · her . . .	1

## LEICESTER.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . .	✠ ROBERT ON · LERE . . .	1
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## LINCOLN.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . .	✠ ANDREV : ON · LINE . . .	1
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## LONDON.

✠ hENRI . . . . .	✠ ALPIN ON : LVND . . .	1
✠ hENRI REX AN . . .	✠ ALPINE FINE ON LV . . .	1
✠ hENRI : R · AG . . .	✠ EDMONT : ON : L[VND] . . .	1
✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . .	✠ GEFREI : ON : LVND . . .	4
" " " . . .	✠ IOHAN : ON : LVN . . .	1
✠ hENRI R A . . .	" " LVND . . .	1
" " . . .	✠ LI[WINE : ON] : LVN . . .	1
✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . .	✠ PERES : [ON] : LVND . . .	1
✠ hENRI REX . . .	✠ PI[RES : O]N · LVN . . .	1
" " ANGL . . .	" " " . . .	1
" " ANGL . . .	" " LVNDE . . .	1
" " " . . .	✠ PIRES : ME ON · LVN . . .	1
✠ hENRI REX . . .	✠ RICHARD : ON : LVN . . .	1
" " ANGL . . .	✠ WID : ON : LVNDEN . . .	1
" " ANGL . . .	(Uncertain moneyers) LVN : LVND . . . . .	3

## NORTHAMPTON.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . . ✠ WARNIR · ON NORhA . 1

## NORWICH

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . . ✠ GILLEBERT ON NO[RW] 1

" " " . . . ✠ hVE ON : NORWIC . 1

" " " . . . ✠ PI[COT] ON . NORWI . 1

## OXFORD.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . . ✠ ASC[MA]N ON OXEN . 1

## THETFORD.

✠ hENRI REX ANGL . . . ✠ WILLEMAN ON : TEF . 1

✠ hENRI : R : ANG . . . ✠ PILLEM ON : TETFO . 1

## WILTON

✠ hENRI [REX · AN]GL . . . . . ON · PILTV . 1

## WINCHESTER.

✠ hENRI : R · ANG . . . ✠ HEREMAN : ON · PIN . 1

✠ hENRI · REX ANG . . . ✠ WILLEM : ON · WINCE . 1

## YORK.

[✠ hENRI] REX ANGL . . . ✠ GOD[WIN ON] EVEPI . 2

With mint-names effaced, but with moneyers' names, hERBERT,  
 MARTIN, RAVLF, RICARD (2), ROGIER (2), 2AN2V,  
 VNFREI, PILLEM (4), WIVLF . . . . . 14  
 Moneyers' and mint-names illegible . . . . . 37

On the coins of Stephen the mints represented are those of Canterbury, Huntingdon (?), Lewes, London, Salisbury, Southampton (?), Warwick (?), Winchester, and York ; and they are of two types, *i.e.* Hawkins, No. 268 and 270 var., but with an interesting variety of No. 268. All these mints of Stephen are known, but amongst the moneyers are several whose names do not occur in Ruding's list, and have not been hitherto represented in the National Collection.

The coin attributed to Warwick has been given to that place on the evidence of the Linton find,<sup>1</sup> where Mr. Wakeford described one of that mint of the type Hwks. No. 270, with evidently the same moneyer's name "Standing" which is also found on the penny of Salisbury in the Awbridge hoard.

The coin which I have ventured to give to Huntingdon is an interesting variety of Hwks. No. 268, in having on the obverse the head only of the King, with the sceptre on his left instead of on his right, as in the case of the usual type. It is unfortunate that this interesting coin is so rubbed and clipped as to make the legends scarcely decipherable, and the mint-name somewhat doubtful, but the letters *h* and *N* are fairly clear, whilst the base of the *V* can just be traced. The moneyer's name begins with the letters *IM*, but I am unable to suggest its completion. The lettering on the obverse is still more indistinct than that on the reverse, but one seems to see traces of the letters *STI* on the right of the head, and *EX* on the left.

Of the mint of Huntingdon the British Museum has one coin of Stephen which is of the type Hwks. No. 268. It came from the Montagu Collection, where it was described as being of an unpublished mint. It reads on the obverse *STIEFN·RE*, and on the reverse *GODPINE ON hVN*.

Mr. Andrew, in his *History of the Coinage of Henry I*,<sup>2</sup> tells us that the mint of Huntingdon was in operation towards the end of the reign of Henry I (1128–1131), during a portion of which time David, King of Scotland, who was Earl of Huntingdon, was there and held an

<sup>1</sup> *Num Chron*, 1883, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901, p. 227.

inquiry touching the alleged treason of Geoffrey de Clinton, the King's justiciary for that county. Mr. Andrew further remarks that the mint was closed after the departure of David, in 1130, but was reopened in Stephen's time, probably by David's son, Prince Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, and ceased to exist coincidentally with his death. It would be very interesting to be able to connect these coins with Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, but that seems scarcely possible, if Mr. Andrew's theory holds good, that the mint was only in operation when the lord of the manor was resident there, for the date at which I would fix this issue, viz. during the last years of Stephen, would be after the earl's death or only shortly before, when he was certainly not in this country. Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, was born in 1114, and died in 1152. He was confirmed in his title as Earl by Stephen at Carlisle, in 1136, and was in England during the years 1138-1140. It was in this last year that he married Ada, daughter of Earl de Warenne, and there is no record, so far as I am aware, of his ever having again visited England. On the death of Henry, Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, claimed the earldom of Huntingdon in right of his mother; but he dying in 1153, the title fell into the hands of the English Crown, and was not restored to Malcolm, King of Scots, till July, 1157.

The Huntingdon coin in the hoard, besides having the sceptre on the king's left, is of rude work, and the mint-mark on the reverse is not the usual cross pattée, but a cross pommée fitchée. It is unfortunate that the coin is not better preserved, as otherwise it might have supplied us with some important data both numismatic and historical.

The three coins attributed to Southampton of the type given as Hwks. No. 270, var. are similar to one described in the Linton find.<sup>3</sup> The Linton coin was said to have been disposed of in the Montagu sale,<sup>4</sup> and was purchased for the National Collection; but this attribution would seem to be uncertain, if the coin itself is compared with the illustration in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. This type is evidently a variety of Hwks. No. 270, from which it only differs in having a double cross moline instead of a single cross moline on the reverse. Whether the attribution of these coins to Southampton is correct, I am not at the present moment prepared to say, since ANT could as well be an abbreviation of SANT (St. Edmundsbury) as for hANT (Southampton). There is a coin of Henry II in this hoard with the moneyer's name 2XN2VN, who may be the same as the moneyer, supposed to be of Southampton, but unfortunately the mint-name is entirely obliterated.

Mr. Walters, who has seen the coin, suggests that ANT is an abbreviation for TANT (Taunton), the A and T being combined. He also draws attention to the fact that Hwks. 270 is the only published type of Stephen known of Taunton.

In connection with this rare type of Stephen, I have been struck with its identity with Hwks. No. 259, which is attributed to Henry I. It is not at all probable that Stephen would have copied so closely a type of his predecessor, and I would therefore suggest that the coin thus given by Hawkins to Henry I was not issued by that monarch, but was struck by the supporters of Henry of Anjou during the civil war, thus following an example

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1883, p. 114

<sup>4</sup> Lot 120, November 16, 1897.

set by his mother, Matilda. It would appear that some such view is held by Mr. Andrew, who does not include this type in the series of Henry I, and says of it (from the evidence of the Watford find) that it is impossible to believe that any of these coins were in circulation during the issue of Hwks. No. 262 (A.D. 1128-1131), and, moreover, that they have never been found except with the coins of Stephen's reign.

The coins of Henry II in the hoard do not appear to call for any special remarks. They are all of the new type introduced in 1156, which remained in use till 1180, and which saw the end of the continuous changes. In this small hoard no less than sixteen mints are represented, but there are no new moneyers' names. The double names of Alwine Fine and Pires M. of London are already known and are represented in the National Collection.

Turning to the general composition of the hoard, it will be seen that it consists entirely of coins of Stephen and Henry II. So far as I am aware, this is the only find recorded of coins of Stephen in which any considerable number or even any coins of Henry II have occurred.

The Watford hoard, described by Mr. Rashleigh,<sup>5</sup> consisted of coins of William I, Hwks. 238 (one halfpenny); of Henry I, Hwks. 255 (419), 262 (58); of Stephen, Hwks. 270 (643); and of the Earl of Warwick (6).

In the Dartford find, also described by Mr. Rashleigh,<sup>6</sup> there were coins of Henry I, Hwks. 255 (4); of Stephen, Hwks. 270 (51), 275 (1) and 630 (4).

The Nottingham find, described by Mr. Toplis,<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1850, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1851, p. 186

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 37.



consisted of coins of Henry I, Hwks. 251, 255, and *Rud. Supp.*, Pl. i. 6, and Pl. ii., Pl. ii. 6 (numbers not given); and of Stephen, Hwks. 270 (about 150).

In the Linton hoard, recorded by Mr. Wakeford,<sup>8</sup> we find coins of Henry I, Hwks. 255 (7); of Stephen, Hwks. 269 (39) and 270 (40); and of the Earl of Warwick, Hwks. 632 (2).

It will be seen that in all these hoards, which contained coins of Henry I, there were none of Stephen of the type Hwks. 268, nor any of Henry II. The only inference which can be drawn from such evidence is that in this type of Hwks. 268 we have not the earliest issue of Stephen's reign, as Hawkins supposed, and that in consequence his classification of the coins of that reign needs some amending at present. What the precise order of the various types should be, I am not prepared to say, and I would rather leave the matter to those who have made a special study of this series of coins. I would only add that the presence of coins of Henry I of Hwks 270 in all the above-mentioned finds with those of Stephen, and of Hwks. 269 in the Linton find, shows that these two types must have been anterior to Hwks. 268, whilst the evidence afforded by the Awbridge find would place that type towards, if not actually at, the end of the reign of Stephen. It would, however, be rash to form any hard-and-fast conclusions on the evidence of this small hoard, especially as the circumstances of its burial may have been peculiar, and it is not improbable that we may have further evidence which would prove or disprove the suggestions which have been made respecting the classification of the coins of Stephen.

H. A. GRUEBER

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<sup>8</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1883, p. 108.

## XVIII.

### ANGLO-GALLIC COINS.

(See Plates XVI., XVII.)

THE series of Anglo-Gallic coins commences with the reign of Henry II, who, by his marriage in the year 1152 with Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine (the divorced wife of Louis VII of France), became, in the right of his wife, Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou. We cannot with any certainty attribute to the four previous kings of England any coins struck by them for their Norman possessions. There are, indeed, certain coins struck for Normandy which have been attributed to William I, but these do not bear his title as King of England, and, if rightly attributed to him, were probably struck by him before his accession to the throne of England. They do not, therefore, come within this series.<sup>1</sup>

### HENRY II.

In 1154, two years after his marriage, Henry succeeded to the throne of England. In 1168 he ceded the duchy of Aquitaine and the earldom of Poitou to his son

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<sup>1</sup> See, however, Ducarel, Pl vi 72, where a coin of William I is figured with the title "Rex An," and Lillebonne in Normandy given as the place of mintage. But this coin is probably a forgery.

Richard. His Aquitaine coins all bear the title "Rex," and they must, therefore, have been struck subsequent to his accession in 1154, and before the cession of the duchy in 1168.

There are no coins of Henry bearing his name and struck for the earldom of Poitou, but it is quite possible that coins were issued for the earldom by his authority. For three centuries the coins of Poitou had followed a fixed type, copied in the first instance from the French regal series. It is only possible to arrange these coins in chronological order by a comparison of their style of lettering and the development of the type, and we may, I think, safely assume that the latest coins in this series were struck by Henry and his son Richard.<sup>2</sup>

The Aquitaine coinage consists of a denier and an obole, there being two distinct types of the latter. The average weight of the denier appears to be about 17 grains, and its fineness 3 parts silver to 9 parts alloy. The types are as follows:—

#### AQUITAINE.

##### Denier.

*Obv.*— + HENRICVS REX. Plain cross pattée, within a beaded inner circle.

*Rev* — + ΠQVI ΤΠΗΙ € in four lines across the field, within a beaded inner circle, an annulet on either side of the cross and of the €.

Wt. 71 grs. [Pl. XVI. 1.]

British Museum. Piedfort

##### Denier, var.

As last, but reading ENRICVS on obverse.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

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<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of this point, see M. Lecoq-Dupont's Essay on the coins of Melle, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1840, p. 50

Obole, type 1.

As denier, reading ENRICVS on obverse.

Wt. 7 grs. [Pl. XVI. 2.]

My Collection; possibly the Cuff coin.

Obole, type 2.

*Obv.*—+ ENRICVS. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; annulet in 1st and 4th quarters.

*Rev.*—REX in a straight line across the field; above,  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; below, cross pattée; all within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 6·2 grs. [Pl. XVI. 3.]

Walters Collection.

None of the Aquitaine coins of Henry are common, but the denier of the usual type is of fairly frequent occurrence. The British Museum has two specimens, weighing 12 grains and 11 grains respectively, besides the pied-fort described above. The variety is rare. The obole of the first type is extremely rare. For some time the only known specimen was the one described in the supplement to Ainslie (Pl. i. 2), from the Cuff Collection, which may be identical with the specimen described above, and Mr. Walters has another specimen in his collection. There is no specimen in either the British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale. The obole of the second type is not so rare, though it is a rare coin. There is a specimen in the British Museum weighing 4·5 grains, and Poey d'Avant describes one weighing 6·7 grains.

### POITOU.

The following is the type of the Poitou denier and obole, which I attribute to the reign of Henry II:—

Denier.

*Obv.*— + CARLVZ REX R Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—MET—ALO in two lines across the field, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 16·8 grs. [Pl. XVI. 4.]

My Collection.

Obole. Same type.

## RICHARD COEUR DE LION.

(During the lifetime of Henry II.)

As stated above, Richard was granted the duchy of Aquitaine and the earldom of Poitou by his father Henry in the year 1168. As none of his Aquitaine coins bear the title of King, we may safely assume that they were all struck before his accession to the throne of England in 1189. There is another reason too why we may assume that these coins were struck during the period between 1168 and 1189. On the death of Henry in the latter year, Richard resigned the duchy of Aquitaine to Henry's widow, Eleanor, who reassumed her title of Duchess of Aquitaine, and exercised anew her ducal authority over the province.

There are no coins of Richard bearing his name struck for the earldom of Poitou before 1189. It is probable, therefore, that he continued the coins of the "Metallo" type down to that date.

The Aquitaine coins of Richard consist of a denier and an obole, and there are two distinct issues. Their weight is the same as those of Henry II, and they vary in fineness from 8 parts silver and 4 parts alloy to 4 parts silver and 8 parts alloy. I cannot say which issue is the earlier. The types are as follows:—

## AQUITAINE.

Denier, type 1.

*Obv.*—RICARDVS in two lines across the field; cross pattée above; W below; all within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—+ ΛΓΒΙΤΑΝΙΕ Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

Wt 16·7 grs. [Pl. XVI. 5]

British Museum.

Obole, type 1.

Similar in all respects to the denier.

Wt 10 grs. [Pl. XVI. 6.] British Museum.

Denier, type 2.

Similar in general type to the denier of type 1, but it has the cross pattée below the legend on the obverse, and the W placed thus M above it. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the average weight is rather less than that of the denier of type 1.

Wt. 12 grs. [Pl. XVI. 7.] British Museum.

Obole, type 2.

Similar in all respects to the denier. Poey d'Avant.

The denier of type 1 is fairly common. There are two specimens in the British Museum, weighing 14 grains and 16 grains respectively, and differing slightly in the form of the W on the obverse. A third specimen in the same collection (the one illustrated), has . in the place of the final s in "Ricardus," and the W is formed thus—W̄. Poey d'Avant describes a variety, in the Bonsergent collection at Poitiers, with the obverse legend retrograde.

The obole of type 1 is not so common as the denier. There are three specimens in the British Museum, one (illustrated) extremely fine, weighing as much as 10 grains.

The denier of type 2 is also fairly common, but the

obole is very rare, and is only known to me from the specimen described by Poey d'Avant, in his *Monnaies Féodales de France* (No. 2761), which weighs 5·9 grains.

### PORTOU.

Richard's coinage for Poitou probably consists merely of a continuation of the types struck by his father Henry, and cannot be distinguished from them.

### ELEANOR.

On Henry's death in 1189 and Richard's accession to the throne of England, Eleanor assumed again her title of Duchess of Aquitaine, and took the affairs of the duchy into her own hands. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that we have no coins of Richard struck for Aquitaine on which his title of King appears, makes it probable that Richard, when handing over the duchy to Eleanor, also gave her the right to issue her own money.

The following coins, though usually attributed to Eleanor, do not bear her name. I will describe the coins first, and then discuss the reasons why they are assigned to her. They consist of a denier and an obole, and the type is as follows:—

### AQUITAINE.

#### Denier.

*Obv.*— + DVC|∞ IT. Two small crosses pattées, within a beaded inner circle; M above, K below.

*Rev.*— + KCVITANIE. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

#### Obole.

Exactly similar in type and legends to the denier.

Wt. 6·7 grs. [Pl. XVI. 8.] My Collection.

The following varieties of the denier occur :—

Var. 1. Reading  $\Lambda\Theta\text{VIT}\Lambda\text{NIE}$  on reverse.

Wt. 16 5 grs. [Pl. XVI. 9.] British Museum.

Var. 2. Reading +  $\cdot\Lambda\Theta\text{VIT}\Lambda\text{NIE}$  on reverse.

My Collection.

The denier is one of the commonest coins in the whole Anglo-Gallic series, the Poitou denier of Richard after his accession being, perhaps, the only coin as frequently met with. The obole, on the other hand, is unique. It was published in the supplement to Ainslie, Pl. i. 1, from the Cuff Collection. The specimen (illustrated) which, from its weight (6·7 grains) and general similarity to the illustration in the supplement to Ainslie, is very probably identical with the Cuff coin, was purchased by me at the Durlacher sale in 1899 (lot 24). The denier, variety 1, is as common as that of the original type; the denier, variety 2, is described from a specimen in my collection.

The question now presents itself—Why are these coins attributed to Eleanor? Some writers suggest that the letters  $\mathfrak{M}$ — $\pi$  on the obverse stand for “*Moneta Alienora*,” and I see no reason why this should not be correct. It has been urged against this view that we have the  $\mathfrak{M}$  on the Aquitaine coins of Richard, placed promiscuously either like an  $\mathfrak{M}$  or like an  $\omega$ . This, however, does not account for the presence of the  $\pi$ , and this has been explained away by saying that the  $\mathfrak{M}$  is really an inverted  $\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ , and the two symbols are the  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\phi\alpha$  and the  $\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ . But if this is the case, why should the  $\omega$  be inverted, and would it not have been more natural to place the  $\pi$  above and the  $\omega$  below? I think there is no reason why we should not accept the view that the letters stand for



"Moneta Alienora," and the fact that the *m* appears on the coins of Richard, inverted, may easily be accounted for by the fact that the *m*, originally used to signify "Moneta," had come to be used as an ornament simply.

Another difficulty in connection with these coins is the obverse legend "Ducisit." What does it stand for? M. Longpérier considered it to be an abbreviation for "Ducisatus," meaning "Duchy," while others have thought that it stands for Ducisita, or "Duchess." Unfortunately, the ordinary word for Duchess is "Ducissa," and there is no trace of such a form of the word as "Ducisita."

I am afraid I cannot throw any light on the subject, but I think that the balance of probability is very strongly in favour of assigning these coins to the period of Eleanor's rule over Aquitaine. It would be incredible that the mints of Aquitaine, which would appear to have been very active under Henry's rule from 1154 to 1168, and still more so under Richard's rule from 1168 to 1189, should cease entirely on Richard's accession to the throne of England. It would be all the more incredible from the fact that the Poitou mints were at the height of their activity in Richard's reign. We cannot adopt the theory that Richard's Aquitaine coins were struck during this period, for, apart from the fact that they do not bear his title of King, he had handed over the duchy to Eleanor on his accession. It seems, therefore, indisputable that some coins must have been struck for Aquitaine during this period, and in large numbers. These coins, attributed to Eleanor, by their style of workmanship could only have been struck about this date, and just as Richard's Poitou coins issued after 1189 are quite the commonest coins in the series of Poitou, so are these

amongst the commonest pieces in the series of Aquitaine. I think, therefore, that we may safely assign these coins to the period of Eleanor's rule over Aquitaine. The reason why she did not place her own name on them, if a reason is necessary, may be that, though assuming the government of the duchy, she did not wish to so far dis sever it from the English Crown as to strike coins in her own name.

Eleanor continued to govern Aquitaine down to her death, in 1204.

## RICHARD COEUR DE LION.

(After his accession to the English throne.)

We now come to the coins struck by Richard after his accession to the throne of England. As we have seen, on Henry's death the duchy of Aquitaine passed out of the hands of Richard into those of his mother, Eleanor; but he still retained the earldom of Poitou. The coinage of Poitou, however, underwent a change. The "Metallo" type, after an existence of three centuries, was discarded, and Richard issued a new coinage, bearing his own name and his title of King.

These Poitou coins of Richard are very common; in fact, the deniers rank amongst the commonest coins in the whole Anglo-Gallic series. The obole, as usual, is scarce, but it is not nearly so rare as the oboles of Henry II and Eleanor. The mints of Richard must have been extremely active, as there are no fewer than twelve distinct varieties of the *denier*, and of some of the varieties there are six or eight different readings in the legends.

The varieties consist of different markings, chiefly annulets, on the obverse or reverse, and I would suggest that these denote the different mints at which the coins were struck. The various readings may be accounted for by the fact that the dies would become worn out and new ones would from time to time be required.

I have taken my descriptions of the different varieties and of the different readings of each variety mainly from Poey d'Avant. In fact, many of the varieties and of the readings are only known to us from his descriptions; but I have indicated, by a reference to the collection in which it occurs, any coin which I have myself seen. I have also noted such of the varieties as were known to General Ainslie.

Poey d'Avant distinguishes between such readings as REX, REP, and REI, but I have not followed him in this, as I consider that the two last readings are only mistaken readings of REX. The X was formed thus *X*, and it seems to me that the thin cross-line might easily become wholly or partly obliterated, giving the letter the appearance of an I or a P.

I will first give a description of the general type, which is the same all through the series, and then classify the different varieties according to their special marks.

### PORTOU.

#### Denier.

*Obv.*— + RICARDVS REX. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—PIC TAVIE NSIS in three lines across the field, within a beaded inner circle.

#### Obole.

Same type as the denier.

## Type 1.

Plain, *i.e.* as type, with no special markings.  
(This is the commonest type.)

## Denier.

- a.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.  
15.5 grs. [Pl. XVI. 10.] British Museum.
- b.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- c.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- d.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- e.* " RE PICTAVIENSIS.
- f.* RICARDVS REX " British Museum
- g.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- h.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- i.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.
- k.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS
- l.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

## Obole.

- a.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.  
9 grs. ; cp. Denier, 1*a.* [Pl. XVI. 11.]  
British Museum.
- b.* " " PICTAVIENSIS. Cp. Denier, 1*d.*
- c.* " " PICTAVIENSIS.

## Type 2.

Annulet in the 3rd quarter of the cross.  
(This is a fairly common type.)

## Denier.

- a.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS
- b.* RICARDVS " "  
15 grs. [Pl. XVI. 12.] British Museum.

## Obole.

- a.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.  
8 grs. [Pl. XVI. 13.] British Museum.

## Type 3.

Annulet in the 4th quarter of the cross.  
Poey d'Avant.

## Denier.

- a.* RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS
- b.* RICARDVS " "

Type 4.

Annulet in the 1st quarter of the cross.

Poey d'Avant and Ainslie.

Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

Type 5.

Annulet above legend on reverse.

Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX · PICTAVIENSIS.

Cab. de Fr.

b. RICARDVS " "

12 grs. [Pl. XVI. 14.]

British Museum.

c. RICARDVS RE "

d. RICARDVS RII PICTAVIENSIS

e. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

Type 6.

Annulet below legend on reverse.

Ainslie.

Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS

Type 7.

Dot above legend on reverse.

Poey d'Avant and Ainslie.

Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

b. " RII "

c. " REX PICTAVIENSIS.

d. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

e. " " PICTAVIENSIS.

f. " " PICTAVIENSIS.

g. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

h. " " PICTAVIENSIS.

Obole.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

Cp. Denier, 7a.

b. RICARDVS " "

Cp. Denier, 7d.

Type 7, var.

As type 7, but last line of reverse legend retrograde.

## Denier.

RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

This coin is of copper, lightly washed with silver. It was in the St. Saviol find, and passed into the collection of M. Lecointre-Dupont. (See his *Monnaies de Poitou*, p. 99.)

## Type 8.

Dot below legend on reverse. Two varieties.

Var. 1. Dot below the first S

Var. 2. Dot below the I.

Denier, var. 1. Poey d'Avant and Ainslie.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

b. RICARDVS " "

Obole, var. 1. Poey d'Avant.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

Denier, var. 2. Poey d'Avant and Ainslie.

RICARDVS RE PICTAVIENSIS.

Obole, var. 2. Poey d'Avant.

RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS

## Type 9.

Straight line terminating in a point to left below reverse legend. Poey d'Avant.

## Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS

b. RICARDVS " "

## Obole.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

## Type 10.

Straight line ending in a point to right below reverse legend. Poey d'Avant.

## Denier.

RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

## Obole.

RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

## Type 10, var. 1.

As type 10, but annulet in 3rd quarter of cross on  
obverse Poey d'Avant.

## Denier.

a. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS.

b RICARDVS       "               "

## Type 10, var. 2.

As type 10, but annulet in 1st quarter of cross on  
obverse. Poey d'Avant.

## Denier.

RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS

Poey d'Avant also describes the three following deniers, which are all of very debased metal, and which do not fall under any of the above types. They are possibly contemporaneous forgeries.

1. RICARDVS REX · PICTAVIENSIS. Dot over last i of reverse legend.
2. RICARDVS REX PICTAVIENSIS Dot over π of reverse legend.
3. RICARDVS REX · PICTAVIEESIS Dot over π of reverse legend.

It seems almost impossible that all these variations should have taken place during the ten years of Richard's reign, even allowing for the fact that his continual presence in his French dominions would account for a great activity in his mints, and assuming that each type marks a different place of mintage. On the death of Richard in 1199, his mother, Eleanor, assumed the government of the earldom of Poitou, and kept it down to her death in 1204, when John succeeded her as Earl of Poitou. I think that it is quite possible that she continued to strike coins in Richard's name during this

period, and this may account for the diversity of the readings of the legends of some of the types.

In addition to his Poitou coinage, Richard issued money for the town of Issoudun, in Berri. In the year 1188 the French King, Philip Augustus, conferred on Richard the "property of Issoudun," which, however, Richard restored on coming to the English throne in the following year. After various wars between the two kings, a treaty was finally effected in 1196, by which Philip acknowledged Richard as legitimate owner of Issoudun. Richard died in 1199, and in the following year the town was ceded to Louis of France by John on the occasion of Louis' marriage with Blanche of Castile, the daughter of Eleanor of England, John's sister. This issue of Richard's, therefore, which consists only of a rare denier bearing his title of King, must have been struck between 1196 and 1199.

### ISSOUDUN (BERRI).

Denier.

*Obv.*—● RICARD' REX. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—+ EXOLDVNI  $\Omega$  in centre, annulet below, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 12 grs. [Fl. XVI. 15.]

British Museum.

I cannot leave the reign of Richard I without mentioning a denier which has been attributed to him by Ainslie, and is supposed to have been struck for Normandy at Rouen. Poey d'Avant questions this attribution, and assigns the coin to Richard, Count of Rodez. The following is a description of the coin, taken from the



specimen in the British Museum, which is the coin described by Ainslie :—

### ROUEN (NORMANDY).

Denier.

*Obv* — + RICARD COMES. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—RODUC DVCO + DVD arranged in the form of a cross, within a beaded inner circle.

Ainslie reads the legends as “Ricardus rx.” and “Rodumduco” (= Rodomaco, Rouen); Poey d’Avant reads them as “Ricard comes” and “Rodes duco;” and I think that every one, after examining the coin, will agree that the latter is the more probable reading.

### JOHN.

John succeeded to the throne of England on the death of Richard in 1199, but, as we have seen above, the duchy of Aquitaine was already under the rule of his mother, Eleanor, and on Richard’s death she also assumed the government of the earldom of Poitou. Eleanor died in 1204, and on her death the duchy of Normandy and all the French possessions belonging to John were confiscated by the French King for John’s murder of his nephew Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. John refused to appear before the Court of Peers at Paris, and Philip Augustus proceeded to enforce the confiscation by the sword. It is therefore extremely improbable that John struck any Anglo-Gallic coins, and, if he did, he probably only continued the existing types. At any rate, no Anglo-Gallic coins bearing his name are known.

## HENRY III.

On Henry's accession in 1216 he found his kingdom shorn of nearly all the vast French possessions of Henry II, and he succeeded only to a legacy of shadowy claims. Of these, such as they were, he divested himself in 1252 on the occasion of the betrothal of his son Edward to Eleanor of Castile, when he ceded to him all his rights in Gascony, and over all the other lands taken from his predecessors by the Kings of France. In the year 1259 Henry entered into a treaty with Louis IX, by which he formally renounced all claims to the duchy of Normandy and the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, and, in return, Louis relinquished to him certain territories in the south, which he united into a duchy by the name of Guienne. These territories consisted of the Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord, which were to be handed over to Henry at once, and Xaintonge, the Agenais, and Lower Quercy, which were to come to him on the death, without heirs, of Alphonse, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse. As a matter of fact, the Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord were not handed over by Louis in accordance with the treaty, and Henry's claim to the other provinces did not arise until the death of Alphonse, without heirs, in 1271. Henry himself died in 1272.

Thus the only French possession for which Henry could have struck coins was the province of Gascony, between the years 1216 and 1252. His rights over that province were only of the slenderest description, and, as a matter of fact, no coins of his are known. I think it is extremely doubtful whether any were ever struck.

## EDWARD I.

(During the lifetime of Henry III.)

In the year 1252 Edward was betrothed to Eleanor, the half-sister of Alphonse X, King of Castile. Eleanor was the daughter of Ferdinand the Saint by his second wife, Joan of Ponthieu, and she was, in the right of her mother, heiress of Ponthieu and Montreuil, in Western Picardy. On Edward's betrothal, Henry ceded to him "all that he possessed" of his province of Gascony, and whatever rights he had over all the other lands taken from his predecessors by the Kings of France.

The province of Gascony had been ceded by Henry II to Alphonse VIII of Castile, in 1170, on the occasion of the marriage of Alphonse with Henry's daughter Eleanor. On Edward's marriage to Eleanor in 1254, Alphonse X gave to him, as his sister's marriage portion, "all his claim on Gascony," and thus Gascony became once more absolutely united to the Royal House of England.

Edward, after his marriage, at once proceeded to Gascony, and spent most of that year and the following one there. It was probably during this period that he arranged for the issue of the coins which bear his title, "Edwardus filius Henrici Regis Anglie."

The issue consists of a denier and an obole, usually termed lion denier and demi-lion, from their obverse type. The weight of the lion denier and its fineness appear to be the same as that of the deniers of Richard I. The type is as follows:—

## GASCONY.

## Lion denier.

*Obv.*— + EDWARD' : FILI'. Lion passant guardant to left, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + R · REGIS : ANGLIE. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; stops in legend; pellets on both sides.

13 grs. [Pl. XVII. 1.] British Museum.

Poey d'Avant describes two specimens, weighing 14·4 grains each. There is a variety which omits the stops in the legends on both sides, and another variety in which the W in EDWARD is divided thus, VV. Poey d'Avant describes a third variety, reading "Edwardus," from the Rousseau Collection.

## Demi-lion.

Type as lion denier, with stops in the legend, but reading ANGLIE on reverse.

Wt. 6·5 grs. [Pl. XVII. 2.] My Collection.

Both these coins are fairly common.

## EDWARD I.

(After his accession to the English throne.)

Edward first heard of his accession to the throne in Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land. He proceeded leisurely homewards by land, and in July, 1273, he paid a visit to Philip of France at Paris. There were important questions in dispute between the two kings. The cession of lands promised by Louis to Henry III at the Treaty of Paris in 1259 had never been carried out. France had not yielded the Limousin, Quercy, and Périgord, and, on the death of Alphonse, Count of

Poitiers and Toulouse, without heirs, in 1271, Philip had entered, without scruple, upon Southern Xaintonge, the Agenais, and Lower Quercy.

Edward could obtain no satisfaction from the French King, but he did homage for "all the lands which he ought to have held of him," and then proceeded to Aquitaine, where he remained for more than a year, finally leaving for England in August, 1274.

In the May of 1279 Edward and his Queen, Eleanor, crossed over again to France, and took possession of the county of Ponthieu, to which Eleanor had just succeeded on the death of her mother, Joan. In the same month Edward met Philip at Amiens, and concluded with him the Treaty of Amiens, by which Philip confirmed Eleanor in her county of Ponthieu, and also ceded to Edward Agen and the Agenais outright, and promised to submit Edward's claim over Quercy to a commission of inquiry. This commission, eight years later, assigned to Edward a large and rich part of that province. Edward, in return, abandoned all further claims on French territory.

In 1286 Edward again quitted England for France. He met the new King of France, Philip IV, at Amiens, and accompanied him to Paris, where he did homage for Guienne, and obtained the final settlement of his claims on Lower Quercy. He then went to Bordeaux, where he spent the next three years in putting the affairs of the duchy on a sound basis. This period has justly been described as an epoch-making period in the history of Guienne. After crushing a formidable conspiracy, he set to work to promote the commerce of the province. He founded new towns, called bastides, which, as well as providing military defences and refuges

for the country folk in time of war, became flourishing centres of trade. He busied himself in improving the administrative system and generally in reducing to order the government of the duchy.

In 1292 trouble broke out in Aquitaine. A fierce rivalry, often resulting in actual fighting, had broken out between the Normans and the Gascon sailors. Things reached a crisis when, off St. Mahé, in Brittany, a fleet of Norman ships attacked and defeated a smaller Gascon fleet, and captured many of the Gascon ships and a rich booty. The Gascon sailors lodged a complaint before Philip, who summoned Edward to appear before his Parliament at Paris. Edward refused to appear, and Philip pronounced the duchy of Aquitaine to be forfeited to the French Crown. Edward sent over Edmund of Lancaster to arrange terms with the French King, and agreed to cede six Gascon castles to Philip, and to make a monetary compensation. The castles were duly ceded, but Philip then declared, with barefaced treachery, that the terms of reconciliation had been made without his sanction. Gascony was invaded, and the whole duchy of Aquitaine passed, without a blow being struck, into the hands of the French King.

Edward then set to work to regain Gascony, but troubles were coming thick upon him at home. In 1295 he sent out an expedition under the command of his nephew, John of Brittany, which met with a fair measure of success, and established at Bayonne a centre for a vigorous attempt to regain Gascony, but it was not strong enough to drive out Philip. At home, Edward had a revolt in Wales to deal with, followed in the next year by a campaign in Scotland. In 1297 he planned another expedition to France, but

troubles were pressing more heavily upon him, and some of his nobles refused to follow him to France. However, he crossed to Flanders, but failed to make any headway against the French King. Quarrels arose between his soldiers and his Flemish allies, and Scotland was again in revolt. Finally, he patched up a two-years' truce with the French King, which became a definite peace, and in 1303 Gascony was restored to Edward.

I have thought it well to enter rather fully into the history of Edward's French possessions, in order to have a guide to the different coinages attributed to his reign. It will be seen that for this purpose his reign can be divided into four distinct periods—

(i.) 1273-1286. That is, from his arrival in Aquitaine on his way home down to his reorganization of the province in the latter year; to which period I attribute the coins of a similar type to those struck before his accession.

(ii.) 1279. The year in which he succeeded, in the right of his wife, to the county of Ponthieu; to which period I attribute his Ponthieu coinage.

(iii.) 1286-1292. That is, after he had carried out his reorganization of Aquitaine, down to the forfeiture of Aquitaine; to which period I attribute the coins bearing the mint-name of Bordeaux, and the coins of a similar type without mint-name, and also possibly the coins bearing the mint-letter G (probably Guessin, near Bayonne), but these coins may have been struck subsequent to 1295, the date of John of Brittany's expedition.

(iv.) 1303-1307. That is, after the restoration of Gascony to Edward. I cannot at present ascribe any coins to this period.

I will now proceed to describe the various types.

# FIRST PERIOD. 1273-1286.

## AQUITAINE.

Denier lion.

*Obv.*— + EDVWARDV $\omega$  REX. Lion passant guardant to right, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + DVX  $\pi$ RVITANIE. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

13.5 grs. [Pl. XVII. 3.]

British Museum.

Demi-lion.

Same type as the denier lion.

7.5 grs. [Pl. XVII. 4.]

British Museum.

This type is exactly the same as that of the coins struck by Edward before his accession, with merely the legends altered. Instead of "Filius Henrici Regis Anglie," we get "Rex Dux Aquitanie." There is a piedfort of the denier lion in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The denier lion is comparatively common, but the demi-lion is rare.

# SECOND PERIOD. 1279.

## PONTHIEU.

Denier.

*Obv.*— + EDVWARDVS REX. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; crescent (? annulet) in 1st and 4th angles; annulet in 2nd and 3rd angles

*Rev.*— Leopard crowned, passant guardant to left between two beaded straight lines. Above MONET, surmounted by a small cross pattée between two pellets; below, POTIVI, with annulet below, between two pellets. The whole within a beaded inner circle.

Wt. 14.3 grs. [Pl. XVII. 5.]

My Collection.



I have taken the liberty of assigning this coin, hitherto attributed to Edward III, to the reign of Edward I, and of transferring the coins of Ponthieu, hitherto attributed to Edward I, to the reign of Edward III. My reasons for doing so are as follows: In the first place, the spelling of the King's name with the divided VV, and the form of the lettering, correspond exactly with the lion denier of the first period. The Ponthieu coins usually attributed to Edward I have the King's name spelt Edoardus, a form of spelling which does not occur on any other coin of Edward I, while we shall find that Edward III did spell his name Edovardus on certain of his coins. In the second place, the reverse type, the leopard passant guardant to left between two straight lines, is closely allied to the type of the coins of Edward I attributed to the third period of his reign. I think, therefore, that the balance of probability is that this coin was struck by Edward I and not by Edward III. It is a rare coin.

Besides this denier struck for Ponthieu in general, we have two types of deniers struck at the capital town of Abbeville. These are as follows:—

#### ABBEVILLE.

Denier, type 1.

*Obv.*— + EDVARO COMES. Cross pattée, with pellet in each angle.

*Rev.*— + ABBATSVILLE. Cross, composed of two fleurs-de-lis and two annulets, with a crescent in each angle.

This coin is described by Poey d'Avant from a specimen in the Dassy Collection, and is, so far as I know, unique.

Denier, type 2.

*Obv.*—ABBEVILLE. Shield bearing the arms of Abbeville.

*Rev.*—Lion passant guardant to left ; REX above.

This coin is also published by Poey d'Avant from a specimen in the Hermand Collection, and is also unique.

### THIRD PERIOD. 1286-1292.

This is the period of prosperity for Aquitaine, and we have several distinct issues of coins. We have nothing to guide us as to their sequence, but I have arranged them according to the best of my ability.

In the Gascony Rolls we find that in 1285 Edward orders that money shall be struck in Gascony,<sup>3</sup> and four years afterwards it became necessary to regulate the prices of various articles according to the new money, and the Mayor of Bordeaux was commanded to make proclamation accordingly.<sup>4</sup>

The coins of this period are divisible into three classes, as follows :—

(i) Those bearing the mint-name of Bordeaux.

(ii.) Those bearing the mint-letter G, which Ainslie states stands for Guessin, a town near Bayonne, where Edward I had a mint.

(iii.) Those without mint-name or letter.

### BORDEAUX.

There are four distinct issues of coins with the Bordeaux mint-name.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot Vasc*, 13 Ed I, m. 2, Aug. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 Ed. I, pt 2, m 5.

*First Issue.*

Denier.

*Obv.*— + EDVARDVS · R · ANGE. Lion passant guardant to left, within beaded inner circle.

*Rev*—DVX RO-I TBV RDE. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin and dividing legend ; beaded inner circle.

Wt. 12·7 grs. [Pl. XVII. 6]

British Museum.

I assign this coin to the first issue of this period, because of the general similarity of the obverse type to the coins of the first period. It is the only coin of Edward on which his English title appears in the legend, although it occurs in the field on his other Bordeaux coins. It is a rare coin.

*Second Issue.*

Denier.

*Obv.*— + EDVARDVS REX · ANGL across field between two straight lines, leopard passant guardant to left above ; E below ; all within a beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + DVX RO-IT BVRD. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle ; E in first angle.

Wt. 14·1 grs. [Pl. XVII. 7.]

My Collection.

This coin is fairly common. Its average weight appears to be about 14·5 grains.

Obole.

Same type as the denier.

Wt. 4·6 grs. [Pl. XVII. 8.]

My Collection.

This coin is rather rare. There is no specimen in the British Museum.

*Third Issue*

Denier.

*Obv.*—As denier of second issue.

*Rev.*—As denier of second issue, but € in 1st angle of cross, and crescent in 2nd angle.

Wt. 14·6 grs. [Pl. XVII. 9.]

British Museum.

This coin is as common as the denier of the second issue. As to the symbol of a crescent in the second angle of the cross on the reverse, Ainslie states that a crescent was one of the cognizances of the city of Bordeaux, which was called *Portus Lunae* by ancient geographers. But compare the coins of Ponthieu and Abbeville, where crescents are also used in the angles of the cross.

Obole.

Same type as denier.

Published by M. Caron, in his *Supplement to Poey d'Avant*, from a specimen in the collection of M. Lalanne, at Bordeaux.

*Fourth Issue.*

Denier.

*Obv.*—Same legends as on denier of second issue: ⷈXGL across field, between two straight lines; crown above, ⷈ below; all within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*—Same legends and type as on denier of second issue.

Published by M. Caron, in his *Supplement to Poey d'Avant*, from the specimen in the Collection of M. Lefèvre, at Paris.

## GUESSIN.

There are three different issues of the coins bearing the mint-letter G, attributed to Guessin.

*First Issue.*

Denier.

*Obv.*— + ΕΔΥΥΑΡΔΥΣ ΡΕΧ. Lion passant guardant to left; small cross pattée above and below; within a beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + ΔΥΧ ΠΕΥΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle; G in 1st angle.

Wt. 12·3 grs. [Pl. XVII. 10.]

My Collection.

Notice the form of the  $\tau$  in Aquitanie; it is a form which we shall constantly find on the coins of Edward III. This denier is rather rare.

*Second Issue.*

Denier.

Same type and legends as last, but G in 2nd quarter of cross on reverse.

Published by M. Caron, from the Lalanne Collection.

M. Caron states that the reverse legend on this coin is “Dux Aquita Burde.” I have unfortunately not been able to see or procure a cast of this coin at present, and I should like to be satisfied that this legend is perfectly legible and admits of no doubt, before I accept it. If it is correct, we have a coin bearing both the mint-name of Bordeaux and the mint-letter G, which would be strong evidence against the theory that G stands for the mint of Guessin.

*Third Issue.*

Denier.

*Obv.*— + ΕΔΥΑΡΔΥΣ ΡΕΧ. Leopard passant guardant to left, between two straight lines: G above, E below; within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + ΔΥΧ ΠΕΙΤΑΝΙΕ. Cross pattée, within beaded inner circle, a trefoil between the  $\pi$  and  $\eta$  of “Aquitanie”

Wt. 15·5 grs. [Pl. XVII. 11.]

British Museum.

Note the secret mark in the reverse legend, which appears for the first time. We shall find that it frequently occurs on coins of Edward III. It probably indicates some special moneyer or mint. Note also the appearance of the Lombardic *n* in the legend. This coin is rare.

### AQUITAINE.

Denier.

*Obv.*— + EDVARDVS : REX ANGL across field between two straight lines, leopard passant guardant to left above; rosette below; all within beaded inner circle.

*Rev.*— + DVX : ACITANIE. Plain cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 12·5 grs. [Pl. XVII. 12.]

British Museum.

This coin is also uncommon. Note again the Lombardic *n* and the introduction of stops in the legends.

### FOURTH PERIOD. 1303–1307.

As stated above, I cannot ascribe any coins definitely to this period. It is possible that Edward simply renewed the previous types, and it is also possible that the coin last described should be attributed to this period. The coins bearing the mint-letter *G* may have been struck during John of Brittany's campaign in 1295, as Guessin is supposed to have been a town near Bayonne, where John's head-quarters were.

*(To be continued.)*

LIONEL M. HEWLETT.

## XIX.

### THE ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE SHÂHANSHÂH BY BUWAYHID RULERS.

IN the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1903, p. 177, Mr. J. G. Covernton published two coins of rival Buwayhid Amirs—both struck in 428 A.H., and each conferring on the respective Amir the title of Shâhanshâh, and he added a sketch of the historical events under which this happened. In his concluding note I am made to warrant one of those events. I may, therefore, take the opportunity of adducing from an historical source previously unknown to me, not merely a curiously exact confirmation of one of these coins, but also some account of the circumstances as there set forth which led to its being struck with so unexpected a legend. These modify, to some extent, Mr. Covernton's conclusions.

The historian of the early fourth century of the Hijrah was Hilâl al-Sâbi. Of his history, which covered his own lifetime (360–448 A.H.), only a fragment for 389–393 A.H. remains. But it is largely drawn on by later historians, and by none, so far as I am aware, in a larger degree than by the author of the MS. Munich Arab. 378<sup>c</sup> (Cat. No. 952, Suppt. p. 157), which covers the years 402–436 A.H.

Through the courtesy of Dr. G. Leidinger, the head of the Munich MS. Department, I have recently had the

use of this MS. at the India Office Library. Its author, who wrote after 644 A.H., is unidentified, but from the internal evidence it appears to be a part of the *Mirât al-Zamân* of the Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, and it is a far fuller, and therefore presumably later, recension than the MS. of the work in the British Museum Library, or. 4619.

One of the recurring revolts of the Turkish soldiery against Jalâl al-Daula occurred in 428 A.H., and led him to seek a refuge in the quarter of al-Karkh, the stronghold of the Shi'a party, at the house of the head of the Alides, the Sharif al-Murtaḍâ. A Turkish Hâjib, Bâristughân, had sought a refuge in the Caliph's palace against Jalâl al-Daula, and he, through the Qâḍi al-Mâwardi, had requested his surrender, or, at least, his expulsion, but in vain. Later, Jalâl al-Daula retired up the Tigris to Awâna, and was joined by Abu-l-Hârith al-Basâsîri—a name prominent enough at Baghdad twenty years later—with the troops under his command, whilst his nephew 'Imâd al-Dîn Abu Kâlîjâr (for so the name is spelt here and in the authoritative B.M. MSS. of Dhahabi's *Tâ'rikh al-Islâm*), by agreement with Bâristughân, advanced *viâ* Kâzirûn to al-Ahwâz. Bâristughân, at the clamorous instigation of the soldiery, had quitted the Caliph's palace and placed himself at their head. They now sought to induce the Caliph to substitute in the *Khutbah* the name of Abu Kâlîjâr for that of Jalâl al-Daula, which he refused to do, alleging the rights of the latter. Thereupon they proceeded to use violence to the *Khatîb* to effect their purpose, and the historian emphasizes as incredible that the *Khutbah* should have thus been altered in the Caliph's city without his sanction. But the revolted troops went yet further, for, without authority either *de jure* from the



Caliph or *de facto* from Abu Kâlijâr, they ventured to strike coinage (al-Sikak) in his name, bearing "on the face 'al-Malik al-'Âdil Shâhanshâh,' and on the other side the name of the Caliph"—an exact description of the first of the two coins published by Mr. Covernton.

Soon Bâristughân's star began to pale. His troops went off in numbers to Jalâl al-Daula, who, joined by the Oqailid Qirwâsh of Mosul, returned to Baghdad and occupied the west bank of the Tigris. At this moment, we are told, were to be heard in Baghdad four separate trumpet-calls at the hours of prayer—in honour of the Caliph; of Abu Kâlijâr on the east; of Jalâl al-Daula on the west bank; and of Qirwâsh in his camp near the "Straw Gate" (at the northern extremity of Western Baghdad). At this point Bâristughân was besieged with questions by the leading Turks as to the non-arrival of Abu Kâlijâr, and with complaints that their houses and property on the west bank were being ruined. He protested his honesty, and announced the arrival of Abu Kâlijâr's troops under the command of Shihâb al-Daula Abu-l-Fawâris Mansûr b. al-Ḥusain within three days. Jalâl al-Daula, although joined by the Mazyadid Dubais and his tribesmen, felt unequal to facing his adversaries reinforced by Ḥusain al-Daula abu-l-Shauk of Ḥulwân, and retired with Qirwâsh to Takrît. At length Shihâb al-Daula and his force arrived, and joined the rebels in pillaging the western part of Baghdad, forcing an entrance into the shrine of Mûsa al-Kâzîm (see Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 161), and removing the clamps of silver on some of the royal tombs there, until they were stopped by the vizier. And the Caliph expressly disclaimed any share in their acts.

In the mean time Jalâl al-Daula sent to Abu Kâlijâr, who was still at al-Ahwâz, a letter of expostulation, to which he received a respectful answer (in which it is to be observed that his nephew and rival addresses him by the title of Shâhanshâh), to the effect that he had not dared openly to oppose the Turks from fear of how those in his service might act, but that at heart he was his loyal subordinate. And soon, influenced as we shall see by his vizier, he retired to Fars. Jalâl al-Daula now returned to Baghdad, whence Bâristughân fled with his few remaining troops. Pursued by al-Basâsîri, and later by Jalâl al-Daula in person, he was overtaken near Dayr al-Âkûl, defeated, and captured, and, in spite of Dubais' offer to guarantee his ransom and keep him in safe custody, he was put to death and his head sent to Baghdad. The Caliph readily assented to restoring the Khutbah to Jalâl al-Daula, who was heard to say that the whole mischief had really been caused by his harbouring of Bâristughân.

Before reaching Baghdad, Jalâl al-Daula had made overtures of peace to Abu Kâlijâr, and, having reason to anticipate a favourable reply, he was concerned at none having now arrived. Abu Kâlijâr's conduct requires, and indeed receives, explanation. He was, in fact, wavering. Urged not to forego by a final peace the advantage of the Turks' support, he consulted his vizier, al 'Âdil abu Manşûr Bahrâm b. Mâfannah. His career deserves notice, and, except in this MS., it finds only a passing mention. He did not make much copy for historians, but he governed well and died in office—a conjunction rare in Eastern annals. In 418 Abu Kâlijâr, on removing from Shîrâz, where he had succeeded his father, Sultan al-Daula, in 415, to Ahwâz in Khûzistân,

where he had previously resided as his deputy, and which he may have preferred as his residence, left Ibn Mâfannah as his governor over Fars. He accepted the office with reluctance, and on his own terms, viz. that he was to receive neither laqab nor robe of honour, and that his action was not to be dependent on the sanction of a distant court, nor fettered by colleague or superior. As governor he repelled in 419 A.H. an attack on Fars by Abu-l-Fawâris Qawâm al-Daula; in 421 A.H. he warded off, whilst ready to meet, the danger of an attack by Ma'sûd b. Maḥmûd b. Subuktigîn, then at war with the Kakwayhid ruler of Isfahân; and his internal government was so excellent that the people, desirous for once of ratifying a title of honour in their ruler, had first to confer it by their own voice.

He now, and not for the first time, succeeded in dissuading Abu Kâlîjâr from the attempt to acquire 'Irâq. The General Shihâb al-Daula professed his readiness to undertake the task of governing it, but the vizier pleaded his ignorance of that province, and his preference for Fars, and by his advice the flattering offers of Jalâl al-Daula, supported by their bearer al-Mâwardî, led to an agreement, ratified by the Caliph, under which the territory from Baṣrah to Fars was to be ruled by Abu Kâlîjâr, and that from Wâsiṭ to Baghdad by Jalâl al-Daula.

It was only after these events that Jalâl al-Daula made formal application to the Caliph for the title of Shâhanshâh, with the object, we are told, of "marking his superiority over Abu Kâlîjâr." The Caliph must have assented, for the title was used in the Mosque, when it provoked indignant outcries at its impious character. The question was then referred to a body of

jurists, who declared the title "Shâhanshâh al-Â'zim Malik al-Mulûk" to be lawful. The Caliph required all of them, whatever their tenets might be, to give their opinion. Thereupon "some assented and others dissented." Among the latter was al-Mâwardi, and it is to the credit of Jalâl al-Daula, that he in no way resented his conduct, assuring him that he knew his opinion to be as honest as his ability was undoubted, and that it increased his regard for him. The question was felt to be a thorny one, and when the title was next used in the Mosque guards were present against disturbance, but the attendance proved small.

Of Abu Kâlijâr's application for the title of "Al-Sultân al-Mu'azzam Malik al-Uman" in 423 A.H., referred to by Mr. Covernton on pp. 185, 186, there is a brief notice in the Munich MS., but a more circumstantial account is given by Dhahabi in the Tâ'rîkh al-Islam (B.M. or. 49, fol. 13<sup>a</sup>), on the authority of al-Mâwardi, the Caliph's envoy. Jalâl al-Daula had been driven by a revolt to take refuge with the Oqailid Abu Sinân Gharîb; and Abu Kâlijâr, who was at Ahwâz, had been dissuaded by his vizier from advancing on Baghdad. Al-Mâwardi and another arrived and were hospitably received. (The Munich MS. says their mission was to announce Al-Qâ'im's accession.) The Caliph's letter was presented, and, says al-Mâwardi, mutual questions followed. The conversation turning on the laqab which Abu Kâlijâr had previously applied for, he was told that it was inadmissible as appertaining to the Caliph's dignity, but that "Malik al-Daula" might be entertained, and al-Mâwardi advised a complimentary offering to the Caliph. The reply was, "Yes," but after the grant of the title. Al-Mâwardi urged the inverted order, and this was

agreed to. Accordingly, the envoys returned, bearing with them 2000 dinars and 30,000 dirhams in specie, 200 satin robes, 20 mann weight of aloes wood, the same of camphor, 1000 mithqâl of amber, another 1000 of musk, and 300 porcelain vases. Also an order in favour of the "Wakîl al-Khidmah" for 5000 dinars charged on the revenue of Baṣrah, and a yearly grant of 3000 baskets of dates. And there was set apart for the "Amîd al-Ru'asâ Abu Tâlib b. Ayyûb" 500 dinars, 10,000 dirhams, and 10 robes. On their return to Baghdad, al-Mâwardi was sent to inform Jalâl al-Daula of the application, which greatly disquieted him, and he insisted on the matter being dropped, thereby justifying the wisdom of al-Mâwardi's conduct of the business.

It appears, therefore, that this application was unconnected with any attempt on the part of Abu Kâlijâr to gain possession of 'Irâq. The formal sanction of the Caliph was intended, no doubt, to confirm and strengthen Jalâl al-Daula's title, but it appears both from Ibn al-Athîr and from the Munich MS. that it had been assumed by his predecessor, Muṣharriḥ al-Daula, and we have seen that Jalâl al-Daula was so addressed by his nephew in the previous year. It may, therefore, have been included in the titles on the second coin by Mu'tamid al-Daula Qirwâsh in 428 A.H. without any ulterior motive. And, as already stated, the legend on the first coin, that of 'Imâd al-Dîn Abu Kâlijâr, is in exact accordance with history. Mr. Covernton is to be congratulated on possessing an example of an issue unique in character and probably small in number, and on having identified both the coins and transcribed their legends so completely.

## MISCELLANEA.

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### THE HORSEMAN SHILLING OF EDWARD VI.

THE slight discussion that took place recently at one of our meetings with regard to the mint-mark on certain rare coins of Edward VI has led me to refer to a short note that I communicated to this Society, as nearly as possible forty-eight years ago, on December 18, 1856.<sup>1</sup>

The subject was the horseman shilling of Edward VI of the type Hawkins No. 419, of which I exhibited a specimen, the same, indeed, as that which I now again lay before the Society. At that time I expressed a doubt whether the mint-mark might not be "the head of some beast, or that of a dragon or griffin; though I at first inclined to the belief that the head of an ostrich was intended." I had also another reason for believing the mint-mark to be the head of an ostrich, as in Burke's *General Armoury* the crest of a Peckham family is stated to be an ostrich, proper; while Sir Edmund Peckham was, at the time that the coin was struck High Treasurer of the Mint in Southwark, Sir John Yorke being the Under-Treasurer.

My old friend, Sir Charles Young, Garter-King-of-Arms, informed me, however, that Sir Edmund Peckham's crest was, after all, a leopard's head transfix'd with three cross-crosslets fitchy, and that there is no sign of an ostrich either in his arms or crest. The connection between the mint-mark and the Peckham family seemed therefore not to exist. I now accept the mint-mark as being the head of an ostrich.

That Sir Charles Young was in the main right in his statement is amply proved by the Confirmation of Arms in 1494 to Peter Peckham, the father of Sir Edmund, recently published by the Rev. Robert H. Lathbury, in his *History of Denham*,<sup>2</sup> in the church of which parish Sir Edmund is interred. The crest is thus described: "A liepards hed sable, perched thorough his hed and eeres with thre crosses as is afforesaid," i.e. "botoney fyttshay siluer." The arms on the monument in Denham Church of the heart of Sir Robert Peckham, son of Sir Edmund, who died at Rome in 1564, exhibit the same crest.

But though immediate connection with the crest of Sir Edmund Peckham seems inadmissible, it must be borne in mind that, in addition to the crest, many families had in old

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<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, vol xx (1857-8), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 4to, privately printed, 1904, p. 286.

times their badges or devices "distinct from a shield or crest, and having a signification of their own." These, moreover, were often of an allusive or "canting" character. To go no further than St. Albans Abbey, we find the ram's head with "ryge" on the collar for Abbot Ramryge, and a cluster of wheat-ears for Abbot John of Wheathamstede. As a badge for Peckham, the head of a bird seems peculiarly allusive, and though there is no proof whatever that the family had such a badge, the fact that it appears on coins struck under Sir Edmund Peckham is suggestive of its existence, and the ostrich crest of another branch of the family may be the transposed descendant of an allusive badge.

J. E.

## NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION.

*Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age* Vol. iii. Par Arthur Engel et Raymond Serrure. Paris Ernest Leroux, 1905.

This is the concluding volume of this important work on Mediaeval Numismatics. It includes the period from the introduction of the silver gros to the creation of the thaler, *i e.* from circ. 1250 to 1550. The first volume embraced the time from the fall of the Roman Empire in the West to the end of the Charlemagne period; and the second from the end of the Charlemagne period to the first appearance of the silver gros. Of the three periods the third is probably the most important, as besides the institution of the larger silver coins, it also witnessed the revival of a gold currency in Western Europe. For centuries previously the coinage had consisted solely of small silver pieces, deniers or pennies. The first gold coin struck for general currency was the *florino d'oro* of Florence, issued in 1252, which soon had a wide circulation outside Italy, and was subsequently extensively copied in France and Germany. France almost immediately followed the example set by Florence, and three gold pieces—the *agnel d'or*, the *denier d'or*, and the royal *d'or*—were issued by Louis IX (1226–1270). About this time Henry III of England struck a gold penny, which found so little favour that it was quickly withdrawn from circulation, and this country had to wait nearly a century before another attempt was made. In the meantime the issue of gold money rapidly extended in France and the Low Countries, and to some degree in Germany. The style of

all the mediaeval coinages in Western Europe was strictly Gothic; and for beauty of design and perfection of striking, the gold coins of the period have never since been surpassed.

Amongst the most striking pieces are the chaise d'or of Philip IV, and the pavilion, the ange d'or, and the florin-george of Philip VI of France; and in the Low Countries the grand mouton d'or of Gui VI of Luxembourg, and the lion heaumé and the franc à pied of Louis II de Mâle of Flanders. Many of these types were adopted for the Anglo-Gallic coins of Edward III and the Black Prince.

In England and France the silver coins were mostly of stereotyped designs, but in the Low Countries a greater latitude was exercised, and some of the silver pieces issued in the 14th and 15th centuries are as decorative in design as those of gold.

In dealing with so wide a subject spread over so large an area, M. Engel and M. Serrure have had to compress their matter, and to confine themselves to general outlines. Our limited space also prevents our dealing adequately with this interesting work, and we shall only venture to call attention to one point. In their account of the gold coinage of Edward III, the writers question the attribution by English numismatists of gold nobles and half-nobles to Calais during the reign of Edward III, and they express some doubt whether the letter *Q* which occurs on some of those pieces is the initial of that mint. It is evident from their remarks that they have not consulted Ruding's work on the English coinage, for if they had they would have seen that he gives the precise amount of bullion in gold which was coined into money at the Calais mint during that reign. These coins could only have been nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles, as the silver coins of that mint were of English types. The quarter-nobles, however, if struck, have not as yet been separated from those of the English coinage. We can sincerely congratulate M. Engel and M. Serrure on the completion of their arduous task, which will be fully appreciated by all students of mediaeval numismatics.

H. G.

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CORRIGENDA.—In the paper on "The Coinage of Henry IV," the following corrections should be made:—

P. 301.—No. 9, quatrefoil *instead of* slipped trefoil after  
POSVI

P. 302 —No. 14, quatrefoil *instead of* slipped trefoil after  
HENRIQ



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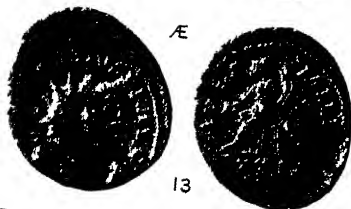
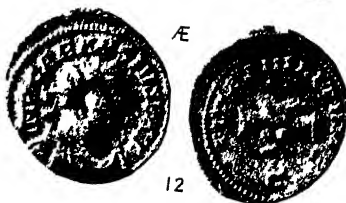
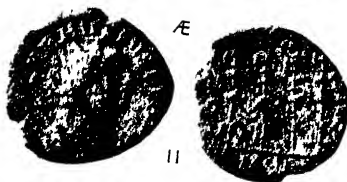
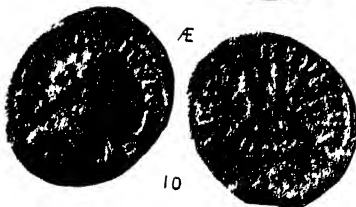
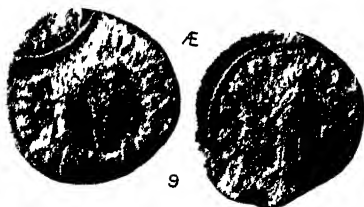
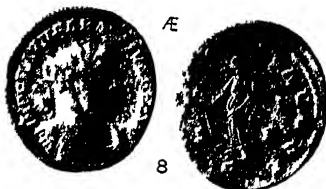
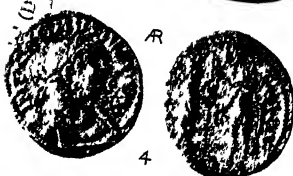
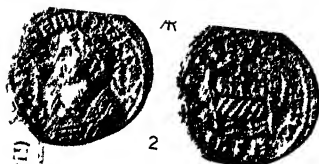
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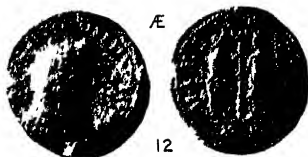
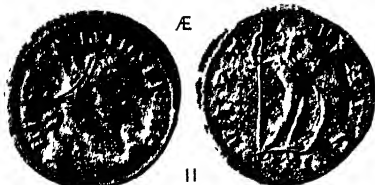
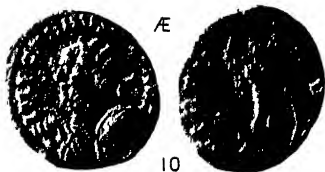
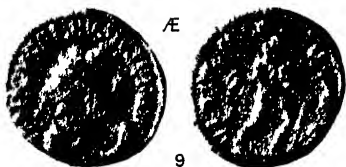
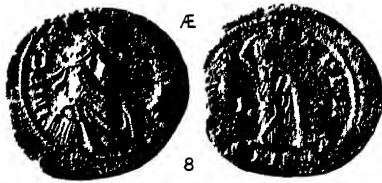
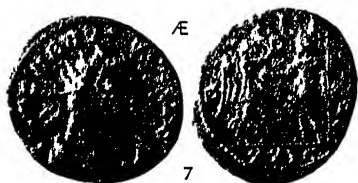
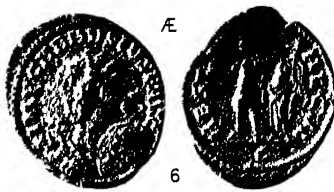
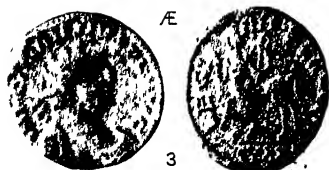
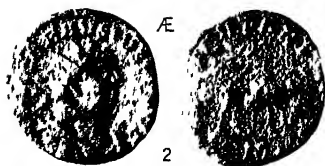
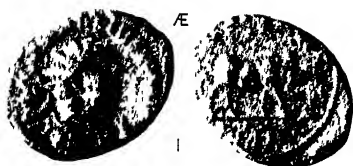
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RARE & UNPUBLISHED COINS

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## RARE & UNPUBLISHED COINS





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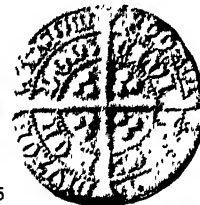
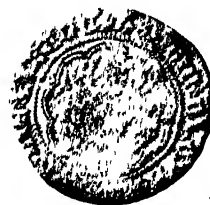
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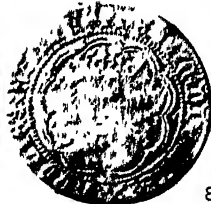
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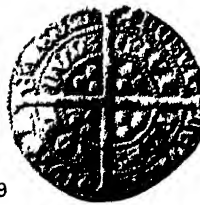
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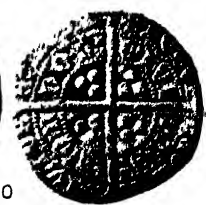
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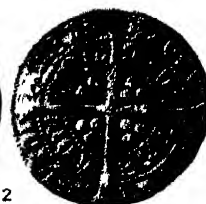
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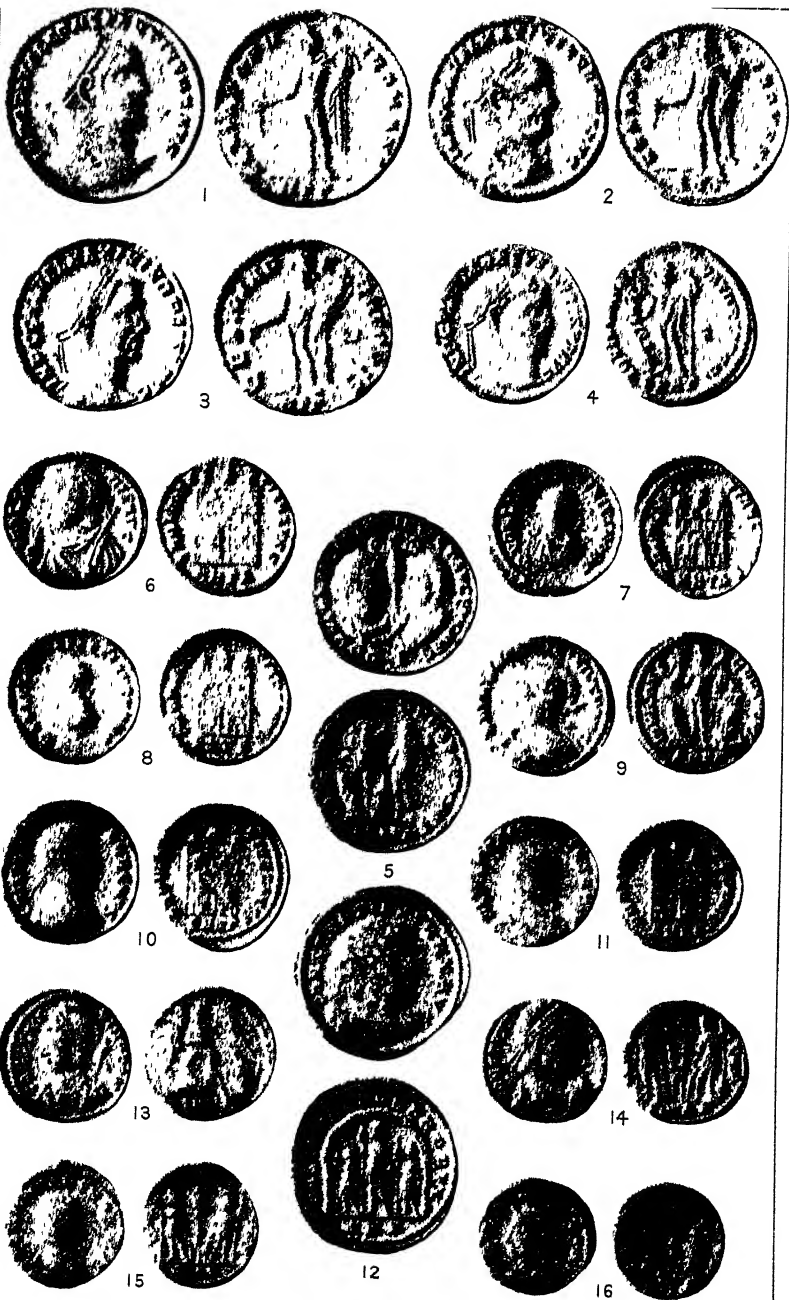
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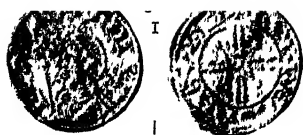
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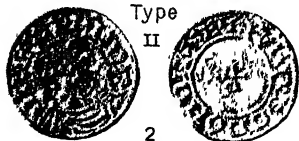


MONNAIES DE HÉRACLÉE



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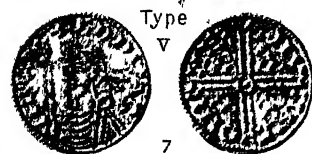
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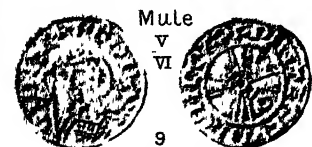


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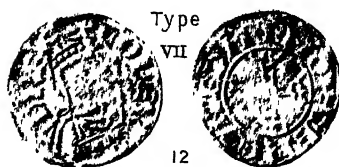
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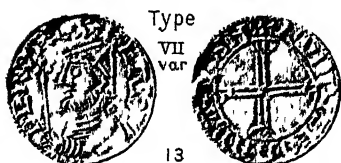


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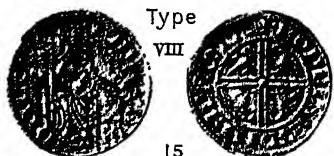
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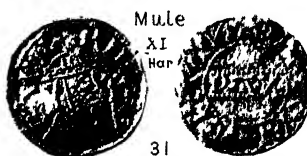
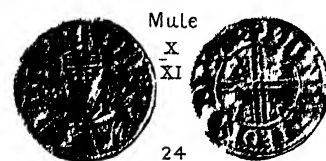
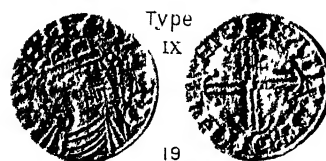
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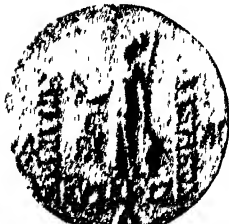


17





PLUMBAGO MOULD OF COINS OF HENRY VII.



12

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14

AUTOTYPE

COINS ATTRIBUTED TO PARTHIA



1



2



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3



3



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5



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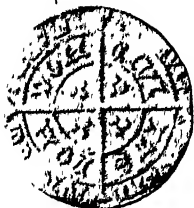
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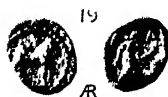
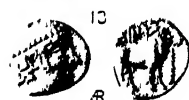


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Α

AUTOTYPE

SELECT GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



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5



10



14



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9



11



13



3



7



12



15

AUTOTYPE



1



3



2



4



5



6



7



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10



11



12



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1904—1905.

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OCTOBER 20, 1904.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,  
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, Litt.D., D.C.L., LL.D.,  
M.P., Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Dr. Julius  
Cahn, Edgar de Knevett, Esq., and Charles Winter, Esq.,  
were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the  
table :—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxiv. Heft, 3, 4.
2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.  
Nos. 251–254.
3. Biographical Dictionary of Medallists. Vol. ii. By L.  
Forrer. From Messrs. Spink & Son.
4. Royal Irish Academy. Proceedings, Vol. xxv., Sec. C.,  
Nos. 1–5.
5. Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1903.
6. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1903.
7. Di alcune nuove Zecche Italiane. By S. Ambrosoli.  
From the Author.



8. Sul valore dei Tipi Monetali nei Problemi Storici. By E. Gabrici. From the Author.

9. The Horniman Museum. 2nd Annual Report, 1903.

10. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 4-8, 1904.

11. Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Munzen. By B. Pick. From the Author.

12. Die ältesten Thüringen Münzen. By B. Pick. From the Author.

13. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 3<sup>me</sup> et 4<sup>me</sup> livr., 1904.

14. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Vol. iii., Nos. 2, 3.

15. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1<sup>re</sup> trim., 1904.

16. Annual of the British School at Athens. No. ix.

17. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. viii., Nos. 2, 3.

18. Essai sur les Jetons et Médailles des Mines françaises. By J. Florange. From the Société de Combustibles, Paris.

19. Le Sceau de la haute Cour du Comté d'Agimont. By the Vic<sup>e</sup> B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

20. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1902.

21. Revue Numismatique. 2<sup>me</sup> trim., 1904.

22. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxv., Pts. 2, 3.

23. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 2, 1904.

24. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. École française d'Athènes. Tome xxvii., and Pts. 1-6, xxviii.

25. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 1904.

26. Archaeologia Aeliana. Vol. xxv., Pt. 3.

27. Les fausses Piastres de Birmingham. By P. Bordeaux. From the Author.

28. La Pièce de 20 Francs de Louis XVIII frappée à Londres en 1815. By P. Bordeaux. From the Author.

29. Monnaies Arsacides surfrappées. By C. Allotte de la Fuye. From the Author.

30. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome xii.

31. Bulletin de Numismatique. Juil.-Août, 1904.

32. Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1902-1903.

33. Ein Porträt der Laus auf korinthischen Münzen. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

34. Die Darstellung der Aphrodite des Praxiteles auf den Münzen von Knidos. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

35. Photograph of the old Mint-house at Shrewsbury. From Harry Price, Esq.

The President exhibited three aurei of Carausius, two of which were of the London mint, and one of Rouen fabric; and three silver denarii remarkable for their types of reverse, or for the special form of the emperor's bust on the obverse.

Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., showed an unrecorded seventeenth-century token of "Ambrose Bishop in Bath, 1660;" a counter of Henry IV. of France, bearing his shield of arms and bust; and a medal commemorating the fitting-out of the American ships, "*Columbia* and *Washington*, at Boston, North America, for the Pacific Ocean in 1787;" all these pieces having been found during recent excavations at Bristol.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a counter-stamped Spanish dollar of A. Gibson & Co., Lochwannoeh, for 5s., and others (dollar, half, and quarter dollar) of the Rothsay Cotton Works for 4s. 6d., 2s. 6d., and 1s. 8d. respectively.

The President read a Paper on "Rare and Unpublished Coins of Carausius" in his collection. The specimens described, numbering twenty-six, appear in nearly every instance to present some new and unpublished variety either in type or legend. This paper is printed at p 18 of this volume.

NOVEMBER 14, 1904.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Miss Helen Farquhar, W. E. M. Campbell, Esq., F.C.S., Frederick A. Harrison, Esq., John Edward Taylor Loveday, Esq., Arthur W. Page, Esq., and Robert de Rustafjaell, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. III., 1904.
2. *Sceau-matrice de Robert de Bavay*. By the Vic<sup>te</sup> B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
3. *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Système monétaire de Ptolémée Soter*. By M. C. Soutzo. From the Author.
4. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 255.
5. *Die Schaumunzen Friederichs I.* By B. Pick. From the Author.
6. *Revue Numismatique*. 3<sup>me</sup> trim., 1904.
7. *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. xxxix., No. 1.
8. *La Représentation de la Tête en face sur les Monnaies grecques*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.
9. *Roman coins found in India*. By R. Sewell. Coins and Seals collected in Seistan by G. P. Tate, E. J. Rapson, and O. Codrington. From the Royal Asiatic Society.
10. *Tà Nomίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*. By J. N. Svoronos. From J. N. Svoronos and M. Marasly.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited two Pontefract siege pieces of the current value of 1s. each, one being struck on a large *flan*.

Mr. F. G. Hilton-Price showed a sovereign of Edward VI with mint-mark an ostrich head, the hitherto supposed crest of the Peckhams of Kent, Sir Edmund Peckham having been High Treasurer of the Mint from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Elizabeth; a pound sovereign of Elizabeth with

mint-mark 2, struck in the year 1602; also a twenty-shilling silver piece of Charles I struck at Oxford, and a half-crown of the same king of rough work, struck at a local mint.

Mr. W. Wroth communicated a paper on "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1903," amongst which were a copper coin of Graxa, in Calabria, with head of Zeus and two eagles on thunderbolt, formerly unattributed; a silver coin of Euboea with head of nymph and bull of fine style, and of an earlier date than most of the coins of this type; another of Pergamum with reverse type a boar's head, above which is represented a net (*cassis*) used in hunting this animal; a copper coin of Antioch in Cilicia with type, head of Demeter and horse, which Mr. Wroth was of opinion was struck within a short time of the change of the name of that city from Adana to Antioch; and an extremely fine tetradrachm with the busts of Alexander I Bala of Syria and his wife Cleopatra Thea, struck *circ.* B.C. 150, probably at the city of Seleucia in Syria, as the Victory, which Zeus on the reverse supports on his right hand, holds a thunderbolt, the symbol of that city. This paper is printed in Vol. iv. p. 289.

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DECEMBER 15, 1904.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxiv., Pt. 2.
2. Transactions of the Japan Society. Vol. vi., Pt. 2.
3. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Vol. xxviii., Pts. 7-12.
4. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xx., Pt. 1.

5. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. ii.

6. Report on the Administration of the Government Museum, Madras, 1903-1904.

7. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Cyprus. By G. F. Hill. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

8. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Vols. xli.-xliv.

Annals of Gonville and Caius College. By J. Venn.

The Verses inserted on 12 Windows in Canterbury Cathedral. By M. R. James.

Cambridge Guild Records. By Mary Bateson.

Place-names of Cambridgeshire. By Walter S. Skeat.

Cambridge Borough Charters. By F. W. Maitland. From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

9. Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 256.

10. The Early History of India. By Vincent A. Smith. From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

Mr. C. Winter exhibited a specimen in gold of the Blake Medal by Thomas Simon, which has a wreath-border, and was awarded to Capt. Haddock; a military badge in gold of the Earl of Essex; and an engraved silver medal awarded by the Plymouth Independent Rangers to John Partridge for "skill at arms."

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a penny of Henry I, struck at Chichester, and having on the obverse the bust of the king in profile, and on the reverse a cross with annulet in each angle (as Hks. No. 264).

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a specimen of the new French 25-centime piece in nickel, with a polygonal edge, and a pewter medal struck on the occasion of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

The President read a note on the mint-mark, an ostrich head, on the "Horseman" shilling of Edward VI. This

JANUARY, 19, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B, President, in the Chair.

Major Ranulphus John Carthew, Evelyn Grant Duff, Esq., Leopold G. P. Messenger, Esq., and the Rev. W. G. Searle were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Traité des Monnaies gauloises*. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.

2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 1<sup>er</sup> livr., 1905.

3. *Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*. Nos. 9–11.

4. *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 257.

5. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 2<sup>nd</sup> et 3<sup>me</sup> trim., 1904.

6. *The Most Southern Hoard of Bactrian Coins in India*. By Vincent A. Smith. From the Author.

7. *Monthly Numismatic Circular*, 1904. From Messrs. Spink & Son.

8. *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*. Plates xi.–xx. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

9. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. xxv., Sec. C., Nos. 5, 6.

10. *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1903.

Dr. Arthur Evans exhibited a series of rare tetradrachms of Crete, amongst which was one with a representation of the Minotaur, struck at Cnossus; others of Gortyna showing the plane-tree and the willow-tree; of Kydonia with the reverse type an archer and the engraver's name NEYANTOS ΕΠΟΕΙ, and another of the type of Lysimachus of Thrace, but with

the Kydonian magistrate's name ΑΙΘΩΝ, *unpublished*; and of Phaestus with Heracles and cauldron, and on the reverse a bull and the legend ΘΕΥ.

Mr. Percy Webb exhibited a series of silver and bronze coins bearing portraits of Roman empresses from the first century to the fourth.

Mr. W. C. Boyd showed an unpublished "second brass" of Antoninus Pius, struck in the last year of his reign, A.D. 161, and having on the reverse a terminal figure.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a groat (struck in London) of Henry VII, with the mint-mark a lis and a rose dimidiated, which he attributed to the first issue of that reign. This coin is described at p. 207 of this volume.

Mr. C. Winter exhibited specimens in gold, silver, and bronze of the Louisburg medal, commemorating the taking of that place in 1758, and the expulsion of the French from Canada.

Mr. W. J. Hocking read a communication on "Some Coins of William II in the Royal Mint," in which he showed that in one instance the moneyer's name had been altered after the dies had been engraved; and he also discussed the question of overstruck and double-struck coins, distinguishing the two series. This communication is printed on p. 109 of this volume.

Mr. G. Macdonald communicated an account of a hoard of Edward pennies recently discovered at Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. The hoard consisted of 422 English, 5 Irish, and 9 Scottish pennies, and 12 foreign sterlings. The English pennies were classified by Mr. Macdonald as of the reigns of Edward I and II, and he also attributed to the former reign those with the king's name reading EDW · REX — In a discussion which ensued, Dr. Evans, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Grueber held to the view already expressed by them that, on account of certain variations in the lettering, the last coins were to be assigned to an early issue of Edward III. This paper is printed at p. 63 of this volume.

FEBRUARY 16, 1905.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K C I.E., F.R S, Vice-President,  
in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Smithsonian Institution. Annual Report, 1903. From the Regents.

2 Un Denier noir frappé à Ypres par Gui de Dampierre, Comte de Flandres. By the Vic<sup>te</sup> B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

3. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxv., Sec. C., No. 7.

4. Bulletin de Numismatique. Sept.—Oct., 1904.

5. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 4, 1904.

6. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Tome iii., No. 4.

7. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xxxix., No. 2.

8. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. viii., No. 4, and Annual Report, 1903–1904.

9. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Pts. i–ii., 1905.

10. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxiv., Pt. 4.

11. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 258.

12. Revue Numismatique. 3<sup>me</sup> trim., 1904.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited two London half-groats of Henry VI of the rosette-masle coinage, described by Hawkins as being in the Longstaffe Collection.

Mr. W. Webster showed a gold crown of Edward VI with the name of his father, Henry VIII, but with the mint-mark E; and a pattern broad of Charles II by Thomas Simon without the artist's initial.



Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a half-crown of George I of 1717, reading on the edge TIRTIO for TERTIO.

Mr. H. Fentiman exhibited a crown-size copper blank, stamped with the obverse and reverse of the half-crown of 1816, and with the edge inscribed; another crown-size copper blank with the edge inscribed with the 58th year of the reign of George III; a pattern for a sixpence (?) of George III with the reverse type, the Star of the Garter; and a United States dollar, struck to show the contrast between the actual size of the coin in currency and what it would be if a silver standard was adopted.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed an unpublished half-crown token issued by R. Simpson, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, having the Prince of Wales's plumes on the obverse and the letters R S in script on the reverse.

Mr. Stewart A. McDowall communicated particulars of a small hoard of silver pennies of Henry I recently found at Lowestoft. They were struck at Bristol, Canterbury, London, Northampton, Norwich, and Oxford, and are of Hawkins' types Nos. 255, 262. This communication is printed at p. 112 of this volume.

Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon read a paper on a recent find of coins at Oswestry. The hoard consisted of 401 silver coins, ranging from Henry VIII to Charles I, and of 4 gold coins of James I and Charles I, and appears to have been buried in 1643. This paper is printed at p. 100 of this volume.

Mr. H. A. Grueber gave an account of William Hole, or Holle, who was appointed *cuneator* to the Royal Mint in the Tower in 1618; but of whom Ruding makes no mention. As considerable changes took place in the designs of the gold coins issued in the following year, it is probable that they were executed by Hole. He appears to have remained in office till 1633, when he was succeeded by Nicholas Briot.

MARCH 16, 1905.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Vice-President,  
in the Chair.

Joshua Watts Brooke, Esq., H. Clay Miller, Esq., and  
Howard Saunders, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the  
table :—

1. *Britannia und die République Française*. By L. Forrer.  
From the Author.

2. *Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*. By W. S. Thorburn.  
4th ed. From the Publisher.

3. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*.  
No. 259.

4. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 4<sup>me</sup>  
trim., 1904.

5. *Académie royale de Belgique*, (a) *Bulletin de la Classe  
des Lettres*, No. 12, 1904; (b) *Annuaire*, 1905.

6. *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storice*  
(Roma, 1903). Vol. vi. *Numismatica*.

7. *Ancient Greek Coins*. Pts. xi.—xiv. By F. S. Benson.  
From the Author.

8. *An Account of Jesmond*. By F. W. Dendy. From the  
*Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne*.

9. (a) *L'Iconographie par les Médailles des Empereurs  
romains*; (b) *Les Campagnes Germaniques de Constantin*; .  
(c) *La Triomphe de Licinius*; (d) *Le Labarum de Constantin*;  
(e) *Les Signes Chrétiens sur les Monnaies de Constantin le  
Grand*; (f) *L'Origine des Monogrammes et du Labarum de  
Constantin*; (g) *Les Émissions monétaires de l'Atelier de  
Lyon pendant la période constantinienne*; (h) *L'Atelier  
de Sirmium, &c.*; (i) *Le Génie d'Auguste*. By Jules Maurice.  
From the Author.

Dr. T. Armstrong Bowes exhibited a Gaulish gold half-stater, recently found on the shore near Reculver. It has on the obverse a widespread laureate head, and on the reverse Victory in a chariot drawn by a single horse, and holding a leaf-shaped sword; below the horse a similar shaped sword. The coin is unpublished.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed a gold stater, weighing 104 grs., which purported to have been struck by Tigranes, King of Armenia, and which showed on the obverse the bust of the king, and on the reverse a turreted seated figure.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a series of gun-money pieces of James II, of interesting varieties of type.

Mr. A. Banes showed a half-crown of Charles II of his early coinage, which may have been a contemporary forgery.

Mr. Percy Webb exhibited a dupondius of Septimius Severus, with an unpublished type of Victory.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger showed a sestertius of Titus with a figure of Annona on the reverse, and without the usual letters S. C.

Mr. H. W. Monckton exhibited a silver ticket of the style associated with Vauxhall Gardens, probably struck about 1750.

Mr. L. M. Hewlett read a paper on "Anglo-Gallic Coins from Henry II to Edward I." In the early series the writer suggested several fresh attributions and rectifications in the chronological sequence of the issues; and in dealing with the coins of Edward I, which are more numerous than those of any previous reign, he divided them into several classes, which corresponded with various periods of his reign. The districts in which Edward I struck his French money were Gascony, Aquitaine, and Ponthieu, and amongst the mint places were Abbeville, Bordeaux, and Guessin. This is the first of a series of papers, in which the writer proposes to deal with the whole series of Anglo-Gallic coins.

APRIL 27, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Hugh Drummond McEwen, Esq., William Henry Moore, Esq., and Edward Snelling, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Cuba Sugar Estate Tokens. By H. A. Ramsden. From the Author.

2. American Journal of Archaeology. No. 1, 1905.

3. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxv., Sec. C., Nos. 8, 9.

4. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 2<sup>me</sup> livr., 1905.

5. Revue Numismatique. 1<sup>er</sup> trim, 1905.

6. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 1, 1905.

7. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxv., Pt. 1.

8. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. xxxviii.

9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 260.

10. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. Pts. iii.-vi, 1905.

11. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1901.

12. Bonner Jahrbucher—Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft iii., No. 112.

13. Medalllic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Plates xxi.-xxx. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

14. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Band xxxvi.

15. Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale. By E. von Zambaur. From the Author.

Mr. W. J. Webster exhibited a silver coin of Archelaus of Macedon (B.C. 413-399) with the reverse type (a horse) curiously double-struck so as to represent a horse with two heads; a half-rider of the second issue of James III of Scotland, without the *lis* under the sword on the reverse (a very rare variety); and a Merovingian *triens* of Luxeuil (Haute-Saône).

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed a crown of Charles II dated 1682, struck over one of 1681, and having the mistake QVRRTO for QVARTO in the lettering on the edge

Mr. H. W. Monckton exhibited a penny of William I of the bonnet type, probably of the Sandwich mint, of which no other specimen of this type seems to be known; also, a London halfpenny of Richard II, having the N's in "London" of the Roman form, and crossed in the normal manner, instead of from right to left.

The President exhibited on behalf of Signor Dattari, of Cairo, a small selection of Roman coins, mostly of the Constantine period, from a hoard of about 30,000 recently discovered in Egypt. These coins, before being cleaned, seemed not to differ in any respect from what are usually known as "third-brass" coins; but, on being cleaned by means of a much-diluted bath of nitric acid, they presented all the appearance of silver coins. The blanks seem to have been silvered, or perhaps more probably tinned, before they were placed between the dies. Signor Dattari suggests that this may have been done as a precaution against forgery by casting in a mould coins in imitation of the originals.

Mr. Percy Webb read a short paper on "Fausta N.F. and other Roman Coins," illustrated by specimens from his own collection. He supported the view of Cohen, who attributes the coin bearing the legend FAVSTA N · F to Flavia Maxima Fausta, wife of Constantine the Great, rather than to a supposed wife of Constantius II, named Fausta, as has been suggested by other writers. Mr. Webb also gave reasons for

declining to believe in the numismatic existence of a Helena, wife of Crispus, in addition to the well-known Helena, mother of Constantine the Great.

Mr. F. A. Walters read the first part of a paper on "The Coinage of Henry IV," in which he dealt fully with what is known as the "heavy coinage." He accounted for the great rarity of all the heavy coins from the fact, to which the mint accounts bear witness, that only comparatively trifling amounts of bullion were coined previous to Henry's fourteenth year. He gave reasons, however, for believing that there are actually a larger number of coins in existence which were struck during the earlier part of Henry IV's reign than has been supposed, but that these bear the name of Henry's predecessor on the throne. In support of this view Mr Walters referred especially to a groat bearing the name of Richard. This groat is of peculiar character, and shows, on the breast of the king, a crescent—a badge which was used by Henry IV in the early part of his reign, and which appears also on at least two heavy nobles and quarter-nobles bearing Henry's name,—and undoubtedly belonging to his reign.

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MAY 18, 1905.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Albert R. Frey, Esq., and Sidney Nathan, Esq., M.D., were elected Fellows of the Society.

Mr. Edward K. Burstal was elected to represent the Society at the coming audit of the Society's accounts.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 261, 262.

2. Bulletin de Numismatique. Nov.-Dec., 1904.

3. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1904

4. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxv., Pt. i.

5. La Numismatica di Augusto. By E. Gabrici. From the Author.

The President exhibited a series of gold and silver coins of Henry IV from his collection in connection with the Paper by Mr. F. A. Walters, which followed. This exhibition consisted of two nobles, and a half and a quarter noble of the heavy coinage; two nobles and three half-nobles of the light coinage, and also of a groat and a penny.

Mr. T. Bliss showed a proof shilling of Charles I, with mint-mark a rose and pellets; a pattern shilling by Briot, and a pattern broad of the same reign, and also a coronation medal struck in 1628, and the work of Briot.

Mr. F. A. Walters read the remaining portion of his paper on "The Coinage of Henry IV," dealing with the light coinage. Attention was drawn to the comparatively large issue of 1412, which, according to the Mint accounts, exceeded in amount the whole of the coinages of Richard II and the earlier issues of Henry IV combined. It was suggested that this fact established strong reasons for assuming that a considerable number of coins, hitherto assigned to early issues of Henry V, really formed part of the last coinage of Henry IV, and that the great variety of types was due to the number of special die-engravers who are recorded to have been engaged on the work of the new coinage, and who, as it proceeded, introduced a type of the king's bust which has hitherto been considered to represent that of Henry V. Evidence was also adduced from Wylie's *History of England under Henry IV* and other sources to prove the correctness of the old chroniclers as to the date of the light coinage.

JUNE 15, 1905.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,  
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

Alfred Ernest Weightman, Esq., was elected, and Hugh Frank Newall, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., and Herr Armin Egger were proposed as Fellows of the Society.

Dr. Stephen W. Bushell and Lieut.-Col. H. Walters Morrieson were appointed scrutators of the ballot for the Election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

With much regret they have to announce the death of the following eight Ordinary Fellows :—

Henry Arthur Allbutt, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., M.R.C.P.

Alfred C. Cronin, Esq., F.S.A.

Reuben Cull, Esq.

The Rev. F. Binley Dickinson, M.A.

F. A. Inderwick, Esq., K.C., F.S.A.

J. Henry James, Esq.

E. C. Krumbholz, Esq.

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., M.A., D.L., J.P.

And of the two following Hon. Fellows :—

M. A. de Barthélemy.

F. W. Madden, Esq.

The Council also regret to announce the resignation of the following three Ordinary Fellows :—

John Dudman, Esq., jun.

H. Erhardt, Esq.

Herbert Virtue, Esq.

On the other hand, the Council have much pleasure in



recording the Election of the following twenty-four Ordinary Fellows :—

Joshua Watts Brooke, Esq.	Leopold G. P. Messenger, Esq.
Dr. Julius Cahn.	Henry Clay Miller, Esq.
W. E. M. Campbell, Esq.	William Henry Moore, Esq.
Major R. J. Carthew, Esq., J.P.	Sidney Nathan, Esq., M.D.
Evelyn Grant Duff, Esq.	Arthur W. Page, Esq.
Miss Helen Farquhar.	Robert de Rastafjaell, Esq.
Albert R. Frey, Esq.	Howard Saunders, Esq.,
Frederick A. Harrison, Esq.	F.L.S., F.Z.S.
Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb,	The Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A.
Litt.D., D.C.L., LL.D.,	Edward Snelling, Esq.
M.P.	Sir Richard Carnac Temple,
Edgar de Knevett, Esq.	Bart., C.I.E.
John Edward Taylor Loveday,	Alfred Ernest Weightman,
Esq., J.P.	Esq.
Hugh Drummond McEwen,	Charles Winter, Esq.
Esq.	

It will be seen from the above statement that the losses by death are above the average : but the elections of new Fellows have raised the numerical status of the Society to a point which exceeds that of any preceding year.

As compared with last year the number of Fellows is, therefore, as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary	Total
June, 1904 . . . . .	290	23	313
Since elected . . . . .	24	—	24
	314	23	337
Deceased . . . . .	8	2	10
Resigned . . . . .	3	—	3
June, 1905 . . . . .	303	21	324

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to Sir Hermann Weber, M.D., in recognition of his services to Numismatics, especially in the department of the Early Greek Coinage.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then submitted to the meeting.

# STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE- FROM JUNE, 1904,

131.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s	d	£	s	d
To Messrs. Clowes and Sons, Ltd, for print- ing <i>Chronicle</i> , 1904, Part I. }						
II }	141	17	7			
III	52	9	6			
IV	42	1	4			
1905    "    I.	46	16	0			
				283	4	5
„ The Autotype Company (Plates)				65	3	6
„ Mrs Harper (Attendance, Tea, Coffee, etc)				11	9	7
„ Mr. J Anderson (Drawings)					10	0
„ Messrs W. Griggs and Son (Plumbago Mould of Coins of Henry VII)					3	0
„ H Bowyer and Co (Bookbinding)				8	5	8
„ Oxford University Press (Plates of German Medals)					9	10
„ Mr H. Douglas King (pricing Catalogues)					15	0
„ Fire Insurance (F. L. H. Collins)					15	0
„ K. W. Hiersemann (book)					14	11
„ Messrs. Hachette and Co. (book)					3	9
„ Cheque Book and Sundries					5	8
„ Treasurer's Account (postage)					1	3
„ Secretary's Account					5	0
„ Subscription paid twice					1	1
				391	1	6
„ Cash in hand	2	1	8			
„ Balance at Bank	187	9	11			
				189	11	7
				£580	13	1

Rent to Asiatic Society (£30), due June 24th, not included here.

# MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, TO JUNE, 1905.

WITH WILLIAM C. BOYD, HON TREASURER

£l.

	£	s	d.	£	s	d.
By Balance from last Statement . . . . .				156	19	11
„ Entrance Fees . . . . .				25	4	0
„ Composition Fee . . . . .				15	15	0
„ Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	243	11	0			
Difference in exchange . . . . .			4			
				243	10	8
Received for <i>Chronicles</i> (Mr. B. Quaritch) . . . . .	30	11	3			
„       „       „       „       „ . . . . .	29	8	6			
				59	19	9
By Dividend (L. & N W. Railway)—						
September, 1904 . . . . .	13	6	7			
February, 1905 . . . . .	13	6	0			
				26	12	7
„ Income Tax returned . . . . .				3	12	11
„ Balance of Charter Fund . . . . .				48	18	3

£580 13 1

W C BOYD, *Hon Treasurer.*

PERCY H WEBB, }  
E. K. BURSTALL, } *Auditors.*

Audited and found correct,

14th June, 1905.

The Reports of the Council and of the Hon. Treasurer having been adopted, the President handed the Society's Medal to Dr. Parkes Weber to convey to his father, Sir Hermann Weber, who through illness was unable to attend the meeting, and addressed him as follows :—

Dr. Parkes Weber,—It is a cause of great regret to this meeting that your father, Sir Hermann Weber, is unable to be present this evening, and we much deplore the cause of his absence. I have, however, much pleasure in handing to you, on behalf of Sir Hermann Weber, the Medal of this Society, which has been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of the aid that he has afforded to numismatic science, especially in the department of the early Greek coinage.

For upwards of twenty years Sir Hermann has been one of our body, and during that period we have, on at least four occasions been indebted to him for important communications. The five Plates of Rare or Unpublished Greek Coins that appeared in the *Chronicle* for 1892 and 1896 give some idea of the riches of his collection, and his account of a find of coins of Mende in 1898, and the two Plates of Archaic coins found in Egypt, accompanied in all cases by careful descriptions, exhibit a full appreciation of the interest attaching to such coins. But it is not merely for his magnificent collection that the medal is awarded to him, but for the manner in which he has made it subserve to the advancement of knowledge, and for the assistance that he has always, with that advancement in view, been willing to afford to other numismatists. In another manner he has also forwarded the interests of the Society, by frequently serving on our Council, and on several occasions by being one of our Vice-Presidents.

I am sure that all our Fellows will rejoice in this recognition of his work and abilities, and will join with me in

expressing a hope that he may long be spared to carry on his work, and still farther advance numismatic science.

Dr. Parkes Weber replied as follows.—

Sir John Evans,—I have only to thank the Council and the Society, in the name of my father, for the great honour which has been conferred upon him in awarding him the Medal of the Society.

Unfortunately, owing to illness, he is unable to be present this evening to receive the Medal in person, and he has, therefore, asked me to act on his behalf, and to express to you his sense of the great honour which the Royal Numismatic Society has conferred upon him. When he received Mr. Grueber's letter informing him that the Society's Medal had been awarded to him, he at first hesitated whether he would accept it, feeling that his contributions to numismatics scarcely deserved such a recognition; but I am glad that, in accordance with the wishes of his relations, he set aside these scruples, and decided to accept the honour which the Society has conferred upon him. It is a great disappointment to my father not to be able to be present here this evening to receive the Medal in person; but I shall not fail to convey to him the flattering terms which accompanied the placing of the Medal in my hands.

I can only renew my thanks on behalf of my father, and add that it has been a great pleasure to me to act for him on this occasion, much as I regret his inability to be present himself.

The President then delivered the following Address:—

In once more addressing the Royal Numismatic Society at one of its anniversary meetings, I am glad that I may again congratulate the Fellows on the prosperous condition of our body, both numerically and financially.

During the past year we have lost eight of our Ordinary Fellows by death and three by resignation, making eleven in all ; while, on the other hand, the Society has elected twenty-four Fellows, making the total number of the Ordinary Fellows 303, a larger number than has hitherto been recorded.

So far as our finances are concerned our Treasurer shows a balance in hand of £189 11s. 7d., as against £156 19s. 11d. at the corresponding epoch of last year.

Our Meetings have been fully attended, and the communications made to the Society are, at all events, equal in value to any of those of previous years. At each of our Meetings a considerable number of interesting exhibitions have been made, and the friendly feeling that exists among our Fellows has been promoted by such exhibitions of courtesy between them. I trust that in the coming year each Fellow who is of opinion that he possesses some object that he thinks will be of interest to the Society will not hesitate to exhibit it. I believe that one of the circumstances most conducive to the welfare of the Society is that feeling of confraternal interest among its Fellows which makes us rejoice in the good fortune of others, and makes each to feel that his own good success is far from raising any feeling of envy or bitterness among those who may not have been so successful in the engrossing pursuit of collecting.

In addition to the eight Ordinary Fellows who have been removed from us by death, we have lost two of our Honorary Fellows.

Of these I must, in the first place, mention M. Anatole de Barthélemy, Member of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions), who had been a Member of our body since 1862.

Born at Reims on July 1, 1821, he at an early age developed a taste for numismatic research, and before he attained the age of eighteen he was already, in 1838, a contributor to the *Revue Numismatique*. From that time up

to 1904 hardly a year passed without some contribution to the *Revue* from his pen. In conjunction with F. de Saulcy and Eugène Hucher, he edited the *Mélanges de Numismatique*, and in 1883, with the aid of Schlumberger and Babelon, he resuscitated the *Revue*, which, owing to the sad circumstances of the time, had ceased for some few years to appear. The range of his knowledge was so wide and his numismatic essays so numerous, that it is impossible for me here to recapitulate even a selection from these latter. An appreciative notice from the pen of M. Maurice Prou will be found in the *Revue Numismatique*, in which some of de Barthélemy's principal works are cited. As a personal friend of very many years' standing I had the highest regard for him, and it would be hard to conceive a more perfect ideal of an educated, stately, and courteous French gentleman of the old school than Anatole de Barthélemy. His death took place on June 27, 1904.

Another of our Honorary Fellows whom we have lost is Mr. Frederic William Madden, who for many years took an active part in the working of the Society. He was the eldest son of the late Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, and was born at his father's official residence at the Museum on April 9, 1839. After passing through Merchant Taylors', St. Paul's, and the Charterhouse Schools, he became an Assistant in the Department of Antiquities and Coins and Medals in the British Museum in 1859, remaining in that post until 1868. He subsequently held various offices in connection with International Exhibitions, and in 1874 became Secretary and Librarian to the Brighton College. In 1888 he was appointed Chief Librarian of the Public Library of that town, retaining the office until 1902. He was a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1877, and an Honorary Member of several American Numismatic and Antiquarian Societies.

He was elected into our Society in December, 1858, and became my colleague as Secretary in 1860, and one of the joint-editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle* shortly afterwards, remaining in office until 1868. In 1896 I had the pleasure of presenting to him the Medal of the Society, and in 1898 his name was added to the list of our Honorary Members. His communications to the Society were numerous, especially during the first years of his membership. His first Paper, read in 1860, was "Which is Right, Brit or Britt on the New Coinage of 1860?" The answer was in favour of the latter form.

In the first ten volumes of the New Series of the *Chronicle* no less than twenty-four articles appear under his name. Some few of them relate to Saxon coins, but the bulk of them are either on Roman or Jewish numismatics. The most important of the former are accounts of the Wigan and Duc de Blacas collections; of the latter, perhaps that on the coins of the two Revolts of the Jews stands first.

In the last ten volumes of that Series there are fourteen Papers either on Jewish or Christian numismatics.

Of his separate publications the following may be mentioned: *The Handbook of Roman Numismatics*, 1861; *The History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments*, 1864; and *The Coins of the Jews*, 1881. This last, which forms the second volume of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, would alone suffice to establish Mr. Madden's high reputation as a student of History as illustrated by coins. He also contributed articles to several Cyclopædias and Dictionaries on subjects relating to Jewish and Christian numismatics.

Of late years, with failing health, he had to resign his post as Librarian at Brighton, and finally departed this life on June 20, 1904, within four days of our last Anniversary Meeting.



Among the Fellows that during the last twelve months the Society has lost by death, I must first mention one of our earliest members, Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, of Menabilly, Cornwall, who was elected into our body so long ago as March 23, 1848. He was born on January 7, 1820, and was educated at Harrow, afterwards proceeding to Balliol College, Oxford. Descended from an old Cornish family, he took an active part in the affairs of that county, of which he was High Sheriff in 1877. By his marriage with the eldest daughter of Mr. William Stuart, of Aldenham Abbey, Herts, he became to a certain extent a Hertfordshire man, and my intimacy with him thus began.

As already mentioned, he was elected a Member of this Society in 1848, and in June of that year became a Member of the Council, Mr. Haggard at that time being President, Mr. Bergne, Treasurer, Mr. J. Cove Jones and Mr. C. Roach Smith, Secretaries, and Mr. J. Y. Akerman Foreign Secretary. He remained a Member of Council for several succeeding years.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1849-1850 (vol. xii.) appeared a most important paper by Mr. Rashleigh, a "Descriptive List of a Collection of Coins of Henry I and Stephen discovered in Hertfordshire in 1818." To this is appended a note on two coins of Henry Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, and on some coins supposed to be Baronial. This excellent paper, relating to a hoard of nearly 1100 coins, at once placed Mr. Rashleigh on a high level among English numismatists.

It was followed in 1850 by a "Brief Notice of the Bute Collection of Medals and Coins," and by a valuable account of "Some Baronial and other Coins of King Stephen's Reign." To this latter is appended a list of some forty coins of Henry I and Stephen found near Dartford, Kent, in 1826.

Mr. Rashleigh's next communication to the Society was in

1868, when he gave "An Account of Anglo-Saxon Coins and Gold and Silver Ornaments found at Trewhiddle, near St. Austell, Cornwall, A.D. 1774." An account of the hoard had already been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1788<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Philip Rashleigh, of Menabilly, and the ornaments figured, though but one coin, and that of Burgred, was described. The hoard, however, consisted of at least 114 coins, and among them were specimens from the mints of Offa, Coenvulf, Beornvulf, Berhtulf, Eanred of Northumberland, Ecgbeorht, Ethelvulf, Aethelred I, Alfred, and Archbishop Ceolnoth. A valuable analysis of five other nearly contemporaneous hoards was appended.

A Paper of the highest importance on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings of Northumberland followed in 1869, and is remarkable for the amount of careful and judicious research that it displays. It extends over no less than fifty pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. A short notice of an unpublished or unique half-crown of Charles I from the Exeter mint, which I mentioned in my Address of last year, was printed in the *Chronicle* for 1903.

This, to the great loss of numismatic science, was the last Paper that Mr. Rashleigh communicated to the Society, and the last time that we had the great pleasure of seeing him at one of our Meetings was in June, 1899, when the Society so kindly presented me, through his hands, with a medallion on the occasion of my having completed my fiftieth year as a Member, and my twenty-fifth year as President of this Society.

Of his wonderful collection of coins I need hardly speak, except to say that any information that he could give with regard to the rarities that it comprised was always at the disposal of any one really interested in numismatics.

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<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, ix p. 187.

Besides possessing keen antiquarian tastes, Mr. Rashleigh was much interested in botany and horticulture, and those who have visited the gardens at Menabilly must all have carried away a lasting impression, not only of the almost tropical climate and the luxuriant vegetation of the spot, but also of the skill with which these natural advantages have been utilized by the proprietor of this beautiful domain. Personally Mr. Rashleigh was the model of a courteous educated gentleman, and after a friendship now extending over nearly sixty years, I can hardly express the feeling with which I contemplate his loss. Mr. Rashleigh died on the 12th of April last.

In Mr. John Henry James we have lost one who has been a Member of our body for a period of upwards of thirty years, inasmuch as he was elected in the year 1873. He was the third and last surviving son of the late Mr William James, of Barrock Park, Cumberland, who represented that county and the city of Carlisle in Parliament from 1820 to 1847. He was born in September, 1825, and after passing through Rugby, where he obtained an exhibition, he entered University College, Oxford, taking his B.A. degree in 1847 in the First Class of the Final Classical School of that year. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship at Brasenose College. His subsequent career was that of a solicitor in London as a member of the firm of Williams and James. Though immersed in business, he retained a refined taste for coins and classical literature, and his collection of English coins, which was dispersed some years ago, was remarkable for the carefully chosen specimens of which it was composed. In his later years he was an active magistrate in the Watford division of Hertfordshire, in which he resided. He died on the 3rd of October last, and as a neighbour and close friend for upwards of forty years, I deeply deplore his loss.

Mr. E. C. Krumbholz joined the Society in 1879, and was

a frequent attendant at our meetings, at which, from time to time, he made interesting exhibitions, mainly in connection with the English series. A short Paper from his pen entitled "Historical Dollars and the English Shilling," was read in 1886, and is to be found in the *Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. vi. p 244. He also made some communications on the subject of the modern French coinage. His death took place in November of last year.

Mr. Frederic Andrew Inderwick, K.C., F.S.A., one of his Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy, was better known as a distinguished lawyer and a zealous antiquary than as a numismatist. He had, however, been a Member or Fellow of our Society since 1892. He was the son of the late A. Inderwick, R.N., and was born in 1836. For many years he resided at Winchelsea, and was much interested in its antiquities and history, and among his published works will be found *The Story of King Edward and New Winchelsea*. *The Records of the Inner Temple* and *The King's Peace* must also be mentioned. He was twice mayor of Winchelsea, where he was deservedly popular, and for five years represented the neighbouring town of Rye in Parliament. He died on the 16th August of last year.

The Rev. Frederick Binley Dickinson, M.A., was the third and only surviving son of Mr. William Binley Dickinson, of Macclesfield and Leamington, one of the original Members of this Society, and the author of numerous Papers both in the First and in the New Series of the *Chronicle*. The son joined this Society in 1888, and only last year presented to us two most interesting and valuable books—one of them of autographs of many of the early Members of the Society, and the other a volume of portraits of eminent collectors of coins and writers on numismatic subjects. The autographs were mainly collected and illustrated heraldically by the late Mr. Benjamin Nightingale, who also formed the collection of portraits. On his death they became the property of Mr.

W. B. Dickinson, by whom they were passed on to our late Fellow, who took a keen interest in all numismatic studies. He was born in 1832, and on retiring from active clerical work he settled at Ottery St. Mary, Devon, of which county he was a Justice of the Peace. After a long illness he died on December 20, 1904.

Our other three deceased Fellows, Dr. Henry A. Allbutt, Mr Alfred C. Cronin, F.S.A., and Mr. Reuben Cull, joined our Society in comparatively recent years, and did not make any communications to us. We much regret that they were not Members of our body for longer periods.

I must now for a short time direct your attention to the various subjects that have been brought before the Society during the past year. As usual, they have in a very great degree related either to the coinage of Britain or to coins preserved in collections within the United Kingdom.

In Greek numismatics, Mr. Wroth, as so often in previous years, has given us an account of the more important recent accessions to the National Collection in the British Museum. The Greek coins acquired during 1903 are slightly less numerous than those in the previous year, being 541 in number as against 543 in 1902. Among them is a quadrans of Graxa in Calabria, presented by our Vice-President, Sir Henry H Howorth. But little is known of the coinage of this town, or, indeed, of the town itself. Its coins in former times were erroneously attributed to Graviscae in Etruria. A fine example of the silver coins of Thurium was also presented by Sir Henry Howorth.

One of the most remarkable acquisitions is a tetradrachm of Alexander Bala of Syria and his wife Cleopatra Thea, of which but one other example, in the Brera collection at Milan, is at present known. The jugate busts of the king and queen are delicately executed, and her clever features seem to justify the action of two other Kings of Syria,

Demetrius II. and Antiochus Sidetes, who successively had her to wife.

The type of the reverse of a bronze coin of Philip the Younger, struck at Diocaesarea in Cilicia, is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it represents a winged thunderbolt placed on the seat of a throne with two arms. A thunderbolt occupies an analogous position on coins of the tetrapolis of Seleucia and Pieria in Syria. Mr. Wroth points out that Appian records that the people of Seleucia in his day, say A.D. 150, worshipped the thunderbolt and sang hymns to it.

Some coins of Delphi, with a pellet within a circle on the reverse, are of interest, and seem to refer to Delphi as the *omphalos* of the world. An early coin of Proconnesus may also be mentioned, but the whole series shows many points of individual interest.

A Paper on "Some Athenian Problems" by Mr. Earle Fox raises some difficult questions as to the probability of the early bronze coinage of Athens being merely money of necessity, representing the silver coinage. The acceptance of this view, in favour of which weighty arguments may be raised, leads to far-reaching conclusions, which seem to involve the reconsideration of the chronological arrangement of some of the Athenian bronze coins.

An interesting Paper on a *stele* from Abonuteichos from the pen of our Honorary Fellow, M. Théodore Reinach, will appear in the forthcoming number of the *Chronicle*. The small town of Abonuteichos, on the coast of Paphlagonia, is but little known in history, though its name was in the time of the Antonines changed, under the false prophet Alexander, into Ionopolis. A single coin of the town struck during the pre-Roman period is known, which is now in the Bodleian collection at Oxford. Its types are connected with the worship of Zeus, and it seems possible that the monogram on this coin may give the name of Kriton, who appears from the inscription on the *stele* to have been the father

of the chief priest of Zeus Poarinos in the days of Mithradates Euergetes or Philopator.

A Paper by Prof. Rapson on "Ancient Silver Coins from Baluchistan" relates mainly to coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria, and to those of the Greek kings of Bactria and their imitations, though coins of later date are incidentally mentioned. Actual coins of the three first Antiochi are described, but no little interest attaches to the barbarous imitations of them struck in Western Asia. Coins of Bactrian kings, from Demetrius to Eucratides, have also been found in Baluchistan, and their native imitations, as Prof. Rapson remarks, present some analogies with the debased representations of the Macedonian *Philippus* struck by the Ancient Britons.

Some rare and interesting coins of Crete have been exhibited to us by Dr. Arthur Evans.

In Roman numismatics we have had several Papers, some of them of considerable importance. Our Secretary, Mr. Grueber, dealing principally with coins in the National Collection, has favoured us with a valuable dissertation on the Roman Bronze Coinage from B.C. 45-3. In discussing the dates of some of the Family Coins, the chronology of the late Count de Salis has been adopted in preference to that of our Honorary Fellow, M. Babelon. The districts in which the coins that form the basis of this essay were struck are Sicily, Africa, Spain, Gaul, the East (including Greece and Asia Minor), and the Cyrenaica; but they are mainly considered in their relation to the bronze money struck in Rome itself. The order in which these practically extraneous coins are discussed is, (1) the East; (2) Spain; and (3) Gaul.

The bronze coinage of the Roman mint, from those struck "Consule Planco" in B.C. 45 onwards, is fully considered, and among other matters it is pointed out that under Augustus the sestertius and dupondius were struck from orichalcum or yellow brass, while the as and its subdivision,

the quadrans, were of copper without alloy. Mr. Grueber points out that in designating such coins as "large," "second," or "third" brass, we entirely lose sight of their relative current values, the dupondius and the as being both classed, notwithstanding their great difference in value, the one being worth the double of the other, as "second" brass. The whole Paper will require careful study by those who wish thoroughly to understand the Roman coinage of the latter half of the first century B.C. A valuable table of analyses by Prof. Gowland is appended to the Paper.

In a Paper on "Rare or Unpublished Coins of Carausius" I have discussed twenty-six specimens of this character, some of them being of considerable interest. I need only mention the Legionary coins, some of which appear to bear original types, while others are more probably merely imitations of those of previous emperors, such as Gallienus. The coin reading IMP · C M · AV · M · CARAVSIVS P · F · AVG taken in conjunction with other specimens and a lapidary inscription found at Carlisle, goes far to prove that the name *Valerianus* ascribed by Stukeley to Carausius, is purely imaginary. Though I have brought forward this contention as my own, I must mention that I had been anticipated by M. Mowat so long ago as 1896.

The mint of Heraclea in Thrace during the Constantine Period has been the subject of another of the exhaustive articles by M. Jules Maurice, relating to the Roman mints of that time. In this Paper he traces no less than nine separate issues from this mint, each issue comprising from one to seven series, thus giving ample means of classification of the coins concerned. M. Maurice's Papers are unfortunately dispersed over a large number of numismatic periodicals, which have appeared in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Milan, and London. Should they ever be brought together, they will form an invaluable Handbook of the Coinage of the Constantine Period. The section relating to Heraclea will



appear in the forthcoming number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

The only other Paper on Roman numismatics to which I need refer is a short memoir by Mr. Percy Webb on Fausta N.F. and other coins, including those of Helena.

On the Anglo-Saxon coinage little has been written, but a valuable and suggestive Paper by Mr. Carlyon-Britton on Eadward the Confessor and his coins has now been printed. After an historical sketch in which he relates the principal events of the reigns of Aethelred, Harthacnut, Harold, and Eadward, he proceeds to the consideration of the types of the coins struck under Eadward. By eliminating the "mules" he reduces the number of types to eleven, and in an appended table suggests the dates and duration of each. In the earlier part of the reign a type is regarded as having lasted for a period of three years, and in the later part of the reign, after the abolition of the Dane-gelt, of two years.

Many varieties of the types are described, and the mules with the obverse of one type and the reverse of another are brought, as they should be, into requisition as furnishing evidence of the succession of the types. The suggestion that such mules were issued between Michaelmas and Christmas in the years when the change of type was made in order to preserve a record of sequence, may be regarded as open to question, but this matter is of minor importance. Another suggestion that the PACX on the coins refers to the treaty or pact by which Harold was named as the successor to the throne of Eadward must also be duly considered. The Paper will appear in the forthcoming Part of the *Chronicle*, and will be welcomed by all collectors of Saxon coins.

The immediately succeeding period of William I and William II has been illustrated by the important Paper by the late Mr. Frederick Spicer to which I referred in my last Anniversary Address. After a consideration of various hoards in which the coins of the Williams predominated, he enters

into the consideration of the different types and their succession. Of these, he assigns seven, including the PACX type, to the Conqueror and five to Rufus. The PACX inscription, he suggests, relates to the "King's Peace," and any one conversant with the documents of the time will agree that the "Pax Domini Regis" was a most important factor in legislation and of a wide-spreading interpretation. It is impossible here to enter into the details of Mr. Spicer's arrangement of the series, but the Paper is well worthy of study, and will be found replete with historical research. Appended is a Table of the Mints, Moneyers, and Types of coins of William I and II arranged under the Nos. of Hawkins. Though no doubt incomplete, the thirty-two pages which have been devoted to it will be found to contain an immense amount of useful information, and will cause a deep feeling of regret that its compiler was not longer spared to place a finishing touch upon his work.

Mr. Hocking has also favoured us with a short Paper on some coins of William II in the collection of the Royal Mint, and showed that in one instance the moneyer's name was altered on the die after it had been engraved.

Mr. Stewart A. MacDowall has given us an account of a small hoard of coins of the succeeding reign of Henry I recently found at Lowestoft. They are from various mints, but all of the types of Hawkins, Nos. 255 and 262.

Coming down to the days of the first Edwards, we have an interesting Paper on a hoard of Edward Pennies found at Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, from the pen of Mr. George Macdonald. In the hoard there were about 480 pieces in all, including about a dozen foreign sterlings. Mr. Macdonald enters into an interesting discussion as to the attribution of the coins among the first three Edwards, and comes to the conclusion that the  $\epsilon$ DW R $\epsilon$ X pennies that were present, as well as the  $\epsilon$ DW R coins, some 155, were struck under Edward I. The  $\epsilon$ DW $\lambda$  R and  $\epsilon$ DW $\lambda$ R R coins, 258 in

number, are probably of Edward II, and the earliest date of the deposit of the hoard may be fixed to the last years of Edward II, or possibly to the first years of Edward III. While congratulating the author on the position to which he has recently been appointed in the Scottish Education Department, we may express a hope that amongst his official duties he may still find time to continue those numismatic researches his devotion to which has placed him so high among the students of our science.

On the coinage of Henry IV, both in gold and silver, Mr. Walters has given us an exhaustive Paper. He suggests the probability of the issues of some of his earlier years, especially in silver, having been made with dies still retaining the image and superscription of Richard II, and instances especially a groat apparently of that monarch, but bearing upon the breast of the obverse type a crescent which is one of the badges of Henry IV. In contravention of the view of Mr. L. A. Lawrence he maintains that the chroniclers of the period are right in their statement as to the date when the weight of all the coins was lowered. This contention is, moreover, strengthened by means of the records as to the amount of bullion coined in each year of Henry's reign. Possibly the difference of opinion between the two antagonists may have been accentuated by the one having confined himself principally to the silver coinage, while the other relied on the evidence of both the silver and the gold.

A find of coins near Oswestry forms the subject of a Paper by Mr. R. Lloyd Kenyon. The constituent pieces range from the time of Henry VIII until towards the close of the reign of Charles I. Rather more than 400 coins were present in the hoard, of which five were of gold of the reigns of James I and Charles I. The earliest coins present were much worn, but among those of Elizabeth nearly every mint-mark of her reign was represented. Altogether it would seem that the currency of about 1643 was of a very

miscellaneous character, comprising coins of nearly a century old mixed with about 25 per cent struck within twenty years of the date of the deposit. The large hoard found in 1905 at East Worlington, Devonshire, and described by Mr. Grueber, exhibited much the same phenomena.

Mr. Grueber has given us some account of William Hole or Holle, who was cuneator at the Tower mint in 1618, but is not mentioned by Ruding. He seems to have been succeeded by Nicholas Briot, and may have been much concerned with the changes in the designs of the coinage at the end of the reign of James I and the beginning of that of Charles I. Our diligent Secretary has also given us an account of an unpublished gold half-unicorn in the collection of the Marquis of Bute.

Dr. Philip Nelson has supplied us with an interesting notice of a plumbago mould for the fabrication of coins of Henry VII. The material is one more frequently employed for crucibles than for moulds, but is well susceptible of being heated so as to avoid any tendency to chill the molten metal when being poured into the mould. Immediately following this note is one by Mr Frederick A. Walters on a genuine open crown groat of Henry VII with the mint-mark of the lis and rose dimidiated. This mint-mark appears to be unpublished, but possibly it has been confounded in other instances with the better-known mint-mark of the lis upon a rose.

Mr. Hewlett has communicated to us the first of a valuable series of essays on the Anglo-Gallic Series, which of late years has not received the attention that it deserves. The Paper treats of the coins from Henry II to Edward I and the writer suggests some modifications in the views of earlier authors. The extensive coinage he divides into various classes, in accordance with their dates of issue and the districts in which they were struck. Some account is also given of the towns in which mints were established.

Some lighter notes of my own may also be mentioned. One of them related to the ostrich-head mint-mark upon one of the coinages of Edward VI, which appears to be connected with Sir Edmund Peckham, High Treasurer of the Mint from Henry VIII to Elizabeth. The bird's head, however, forms no part of his arms or crest, and it was suggested that it might be a badge bearing a punning allusion to the name of the family.

The other paper related to "A Numismatic Question raised by Shakespeare," and in it I attempted to explain the manner in which Master Slender could lose seven groats (or two shillings and fourpence) in mill sixpences, with what success I leave others to judge.

I must now briefly call attention to some of the more important numismatic books that have been published during the past twelve months.

Among these is the twenty-fourth volume of the Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum. It relates to the coins of Cyprus, and has been compiled by Mr. G. F. Hill, and bearing the imprimatur of Dr. B. V. Head upon it. A valuable introduction of 144 pages is prefixed to the work as well as a detailed map, and among other matters discussed is the question of a ring-money currency. The weights, however, of the specimens that have been examined do not present evidence of any definite system of graduation. As is well known, the Cypriote system of signs is on the whole syllabic rather than alphabetic. It is to be regretted that the tables of the variety of signs in use at the different mint cities are not more boldly rendered. One would gladly have seen these characters throw some light on the mysterious inscribed tablets of Knossos in Crete, but the interval in time between the two sets of characters places any accordance in an impossible light. As to the coins themselves, the book must be consulted. Looking, however, at the number of specimens and their state of preservation, it would appear

that the British Museum may fairly stand a comparison with those of either France or Germany.

The medals of the Italian engravers have during the past year attracted much observation, but certainly not more than they deserve.

Some interesting articles upon them from the pen of Lord Egerton of Tatton have appeared in the *Monthly Review*.

*Italian Medals*, by Cornelius von Fabriczy, has been translated into English by Mrs. Gustavus Hamilton, and has been published by Duckworth, and the work is interesting, and the translation from the German, on the whole, satisfactory.

In France, Natalis Rondot has brought out a work on *Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies, Jetons, et Médailles en France*, which has already been noticed in the pages of the *Chronicle*.

Mr. Charles Stainer, a Fellow of the Society, has written on the *Oxford Silver Pennies from A.D. 925-1270*. The book is issued by the Oxford Historical Society, and forms one of the series of its useful publications. The coins described extend from the reign of Aethelstan to that of Henry III, the mint at Oxford evidently ceasing operations soon after the introduction of the "long-cross" pennies in 1248. As complete a series as possible is given by Mr. Stainer, who, besides having examined both public and private collections in England and Scotland, has visited the Museums at Stockholm, Christiania, and Copenhagen. In this respect the work is excellent. Mr. Stainer has questioned the attribution of the "Orsnaforda" coins of Alfred to Oxford. He thinks they are Norse or Danish, and were issued in the North, and not in the South-West. In consequence he has excluded the description of this series. He seems to have been chiefly influenced by what he thinks to be the evidence of the large hoard found at Cuerdale near Preston. Mr. Stainer would like also to include among Danish coins the so-called "pall" pennies of Alfred, as well as those with the legend REX DORO

(Doroberniae). These re-attributions are, at first sight, somewhat startling, and it will be interesting to see what those numismatists who have given attention to the early English coins may have to say upon this subject.

In my own opinion, though many of the Cuerdale coins are Danish imitations, yet Saxon originals exist. I may add that in the same manner as on the coins of the Conqueror it is hard to distinguish between the P and the P or W, so on these coins of Alfred the R may be merely a variant of a K, so that the legend would be OKSNAFORDA, which can hardly designate any other place than Oxford. This view is corroborated by the fact that some specimens ignore the R and read OHSNAFORDA.

The Trustees of the British Museum have issued two further series of plates of the *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, which carry us down to nearly the end of the reign of Charles I. I need hardly say that the plates are excellent.

In conclusion, I have only to thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to this Address, and to express a hope, in which you will all join, that the Royal Numismatic Society may go on and prosper.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address having been moved by Mr. W. C. Boyd, and seconded by the Rev. Alfred W. Hands, the meeting proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following were elected :—

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